THE CONSTITUTION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA

REPORT ON THE REVISION OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA

TENG HSIAO-PING

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THE MADURA

GENERAL PROGRAMME

The Communist Party of China is the vanguard of the Chinese working class, the highest form of its class organization. The aim of the Party is the achievement of socialism and communism in China.

The Communist Party of China takes Marxism-Leninism as its guide to action. Only Marxism-Leninism correctly sets forth the laws of development of society and correctly charts the path leading to the achievement of socialism and communism. The Party adheres to the Marxist-Leninist world outlook of dialectical and historical materialism, and opposes the world outlook of idealism and metaphysics. Marxism-Leninism is not a dogma, but a guide to action. It demands that in striving to build socialism and communism we should proceed from reality, apply the principles of Marxism-Leninism in a flexible and creative way for the solution of various problems arising out of the actual struggle, and thus continuously develop the theory of Marxism-Leninism. Consequently, the Party in its activities upholds the principle of integrating the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism with the actual practice of China's revolutionary struggle, and combats all doctrinaire or empiricist deviations.

In the year 1949, after long years of revolutionary struggle and revolutionary wars, the Communist Party of China and the people of the whole country overthrew the rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism and founded the People's Republic of China — a people's democratic dictatorship led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants. Following this,

the Party led the masses of the people in accomplishing the task of the democratic revolution in most parts of the country and achieving great successes in the struggle for the establishment of a socialist society. During the period of transition from the founding of the People's Republic of China to the attainment of a socialist society, the fundamental task of the Party is to complete, step by step, the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce and to bring about, step by step, the industrialization of the country.

A decisive victory in every field has already been attained in the socialist transformation of our country. It is the task of the Communist Party of China by continuously adopting correct methods to transform what now remains of capitalist ownership into ownership by the whole people, transform what remains of individual ownership by working people into collective ownership by the working masses, uproot the system of exploitation and remove all the causes that give rise to such a system. In the process of building up a socialist society, the principle "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work" should be brought into effect step by step; and all former exploiters should be reformed in a peaceful manner to become working people living by their own labour. The Party must continue to pay attention to the elimination of capitalist factors and influence in the economic, political and ideological fields, and make determined efforts to mobilize and unite all the positive forces throughout the country that can be mobilized and united for the purpose of winning a complete victory for the great cause of socialism.

The victory of the socialist revolution has opened up illimitable possibilities for the gigantic development of the productive forces of society. It is the task of the Communist Party of China to develop the national economy in a planned way to bring about as rapidly as possible the industrialization of the country, and to effect the techno-

logical transformation of the national economy in a planned, systematic way so that China may possess a powerful modernized industry, a modernized agriculture, modernized communications and transport and a modernized national defence. In order to achieve industrialization and bring about a continuous growth of the national economy, priority must be given to the development of heavy industry, and at the same time a due proportion must be maintained between heavy industry and light industry, and between industry as a whole and agriculture. The Party must do everything possible to stimulate the progress in China's science, culture and technology so as to catch up with the world's advanced levels in these fields. The basic object of all Party work is to satisfy to the maximum extent the material and cultural needs of the people. Therefore, it is necessary that the living conditions of the people should, on the basis of increased production, gradually and continually improve. This is also a requisite for enhancing the people's enthusiasm for production.

Our country is a multi-national state. Because of historical reasons, the development of many of the national minorities has been hindered. The Communist Party of China must make special efforts to raise the status of the national minorities, help them to attain self-government, endeavour to train cadres from among the national minorities, accelerate their economic and cultural advance, bring about complete equality between all the nationalities and strengthen the unity and fraternal relations among them. Social reforms among the nationalities must be carried out by the respective nationalities themselves in accordance with their own wishes, and by taking steps in conformity with their special characteristics. The Party opposes all tendencies to great-nation chauvinism and local nationalism, both of which hamper the unity of nationalities. Special attention must be paid to the prevention and cor-

rection of tendencies of great-Hanism on the part of Party members and government workers of Han nationality.

The Communist Party of China must work untiringly to consolidate China's people's democratic dictatorship, which is the guarantee for the success of the socialist cause in China. The Party must fight for a fuller development of the democratic life of the nation and strive for the constant improvement of its democratic institutions. The Party must work in every way to fortify the fraternal alliance of workers and peasants, to consolidate the united front of all patriotic forces and to strengthen its lasting co-operation with the other democratic parties as well as democrats without party affiliations. Since the imperialists and counter-revolutionary remnants are bent on undermining the cause of the Chinese people, it is imperative for the Party to heighten its revolutionary vigilance and wage severe struggles against those forces which endanger our country's independence and security and those elements who try to wreck socialist construction in our country. The Party must work together with the people of the whole country to bring about the liberation of Taiwan.

The Communist Party of China advocates a foreign policy directed to the safeguarding of world peace and the achievement of peaceful co-existence between countries with different systems. The Party stands for the establishment and development of diplomatic, economic and cultural relations between China and other countries of the world and for the broadening and strengthening of friendly relations between the Chinese people and the peoples of all other countries of the world. The Party is resolutely opposed to any act of aggression against China by imperialist countries and to any imperialist plans for a new war; it supports all efforts made by the peoples and governments of other countries to uphold peace and promote friendly relations between nations and expresses its sympathy for all struggles in the world against imperialism

and colonialism. The Party endeavours to develop and strengthen China's friendship with all other countries in the camp of peace, democracy and socialism headed by the Soviet Union, to strengthen the internationalist solidarity of the proletariat and to learn from the experiences of the world communist movement. It supports the struggle of the communists, progressives and the labouring people of the whole world for the progress of mankind, and educates its members and the Chinese people in the spirit of internationalism, as expressed in the slogan "Proletarians of all lands, unite!"

The Communist Party of China puts into practice all that it advocates through the activity of the Party organizations and membership among the masses and through the conscientious efforts made by the people under its guidance. For this reason it is necessary to constantly develop the tradition of following the mass line in Party work. Whether the Party is able to continue to give correct leadership depends on whether or not the Party will, through analysis and synthesis, systematically summarize the experience and opinions of the masses, turn the resulting ideas into the policy of the Party and then, as a result of the Party's propaganda and organizational work among the masses, transform it into the views and action of the masses themselves, testing the correctness of Party policy, and supplementing and revising it in the course of mass activity. It is the duty of the Party leadership to ensure that in the endless repetition of this process of "coming from the masses and going back to the masses" the Party members' level of understanding and that of the masses of the people are continually raised and the cause of the Party and the people is constantly advanced. The Party and its members must, therefore, maintain close and extensive ties with the workers, peasants, intellectuals and other patriots and strive constantly to make such ties ever stronger and more widespread. Every Party member must understand that the

interests of the Party and those of the people are one, and responsibility to the Party and responsibility to the people are identical. Every Party member must whole-heartedly serve the people, constantly consult them, pay heed to their opinions, concern himself with their well-being and strive to help realize their wishes. Now that the Communist Party of China is a party in power, it must especially conduct itself with modesty and prudence, guard against self-conceit and impatience, and make the maximum effort in every Party organization, state organ and economic unit to combat any bureaucratic practice which estranges the masses or leads to isolation from the realities of life.

The organizational principle of the Communist Party of China is democratic centralism, which means centralism on the basis of democracy and democracy under centralized guidance. The Party must take effective measures to promote inner-Party democracy, encourage the initiative and creative ability of all Party members and of all local and primary Party organizations and strengthen the lively contact between the higher and lower Party organizations. Only in this way can the Party effectively extend and strengthen its ties with the masses of the people, give correct and timely leadership and adapt itself flexibly to various concrete conditions and local characteristics. And only in this way can Party life be invigorated and the cause of the Party advance on an ever wider scale and at an ever greater pace. Only on this basis, furthermore, can centralism and unity of the Party be consolidated and its discipline be voluntarily, not mechanically, observed. Democratic centralism demands that every Party organization should strictly abide by the principle of collective leadership coupled with individual responsibility and that every Party member and Party organization should be subject to Party supervision from above and from below.

Democracy within the Party must not be divorced from centralism. The Party is a united militant organization,

welded together by a discipline which is obligatory on all its members. Without discipline it would be impossible for the Party to lead the state and the people to overcome their powerful enemies and bring about socialism and communism. As the highest form of class organization, the Party must strive to play a correct role as the leader and core in every aspect of the country's life and must combat any tendency to departmentalism, which reduces the Party's role and weakens its unity. Solidarity and unity are the very life of the Party, the source of its strength. It is the sacred duty of every Party member to pay constant attention to the safeguarding of the solidarity of the Party and the consolidation of its unity. Within the Party, no action which violates the Party's political line or organizational principles is permissible, nor is it permissible to carry on activities aimed at splitting the Party or factional activities, to act independently of the Party, or to place the individual above the collective body of the Party.

No political party or person can be free from shortcomings and mistakes in work. The Communist Party of China and its members must constantly practise criticism and self-criticism to expose and eliminate their shortcomings and mistakes so as to educate themselves and the people. In view of the fact that the Party plays the leading role in the life of the state and society, it is all the more necessary that it should make stringent demands on every Party organization and member and promote criticism and self-criticism; and in particular, it should encourage and support criticism from below inside the Party as well as criticism of the Party by the masses of the people, and should prohibit any suppression of criticism. The Party must prevent and resist corrosion by bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ways of thinking and styles of work and guard against and defeat any Rightist or "Leftist" opportunist deviation inside the Party. In the case of Party members who have committed mistakes, the Party should, in the spirit of "curing

the illness to save the patient," allow them to remain in its ranks and receive education and help them to correct their mistakes, provided such mistakes can be corrected within the Party and the erring Party member himself is prepared to correct his mistakes. As for those who persist in their mistakes and carry on activities detrimental to the Party, it is essential to wage a determined struggle against them even to the point of expelling them from the Party.

The Communist Party of China requires all its members to place the Party's interests above their personal interests, to be diligent and unpretentious, to study and work hard, to unite the broad masses of the people, and to overcome all difficulties in order to build China into a great, mighty, prosperous and advanced socialist state, and on this basis to advance towards the achievement of the loftiest ideal of mankind — communism.

CHAPTER I

MEMBERSHIP

ARTICLE 1

Membership of the Party is open to any Chinese citizen who works and does not exploit the labour of others, accepts the programme and Constitution of the Party, joins and works in one of the Party organizations, carries out the Party's decisions, and pays membership dues as required.

ARTICLE 2

Party members have the following duties:

(1) To strive to study Marxism-Leninism and unceasingly raise the level of their understanding;

(2) To safeguard the Party's solidarity and consolidate its unity;

(3) To faithfully carry out Party policy and decisions and energetically fulfil the tasks assigned them by the Party;

(4) To strictly observe the Party Constitution and the laws of the state and behave in accordance with communist ethics, no exception being made for any Party member, whatever his services and position;

(5) To place the interests of the Party and the state, that is, the interests of the masses of the people, above their personal interests, and in the event of any conflict between the two, to submit unswervingly to the interests

of the Party and the state, that is, the interests of the masses of the people;

(6) To serve the masses of the people heart and soul, to strengthen their ties with the masses of the people, to learn from them, to listen with an open mind to their wishes and opinions and report these without delay to the Party, to explain Party policy and decisions to the people;

(7) To set a good example in their work and constantly raise their productive skill and professional ability;

(8) To practise criticism and self-criticism, expose shortcomings and mistakes in work and strive to overcome and correct them; to report such shortcomings and mistakes to the leading Party bodies, up to and including the Central Committee; and to fight both inside and outside the Party against everything which is detrimental to the interests of the Party and the people;

(9) To be truthful and honest with the Party and not to conceal or distort the truth;

(10) To be constantly on the alert against the intrigues of the enemy, and to guard the secrets of the Party and the state.

Party members who fail to fulfil any of the above-mentioned duties shall be criticized and educated. Any serious infraction of these duties, splitting of Party unity, breaking of the laws of the state, violation of Party decisions, damaging Party interests, or deception towards the Party constitutes a violation of Party discipline, and disciplinary action shall be taken against it.

ARTICLE 3

Party members enjoy the following rights:

(1) To participate in free and practical discussion at Party meetings or in the Party press on theoretical and practical questions relating to Party policy;

(2) To make proposals regarding the Party's work and give full play to their creative ability in their work;

(3) To elect and be elected within the Party;

(4) To criticize any Party organization or any functionary at Party meetings;

(5) To ask to attend in person when a Party organization decides to take disciplinary action against them or to make an appraisal of their character and work;

(6) To reserve their opinions or submit them to a leading body of the Party, in case they disagree with any Party decision, which, in the meanwhile, they must carry out unconditionally;

(7) To address any statement, appeal or complaint to any Party organization, up to and including the Central Committee.

Party members and responsible members of Party organizations who fail to respect these rights of a Party member shall be criticized and educated. Infringement of these rights constitutes a violation of Party discipline, and disciplinary action shall be taken against it.

ARTICLE 4

Only persons of 18 years old and upwards are eligible for Party membership.

Applicants for Party membership must each undergo the procedure of admission individually.

New members are admitted to the Party through a Party branch. An applicant must be recommended by two full Party members, and is admitted as a probationary member after being accepted by the general membership meeting of a Party branch and approved by the next higher Party committee; he may become a full Party member only after the completion of a probationary period of a year.

Under special conditions, Party committees at county or municipal level and above have the power to admit new Party members to the Party directly.

ARTICLE 5

Party members who recommend an applicant for admission to the Party must be highly conscientious in furnishing the Party with truthful information about the applicant's ideology, character and personal history and must explain the Party programme and Constitution to the applicant.

ARTICLE 6

Before approving the admission of an applicant for Party membership, the Party committee concerned must assign a Party functionary to have a detailed conversation with the applicant and carefully examine his application form, the opinions of his recommenders and the decision made by the Party branch on his admission.

ARTICLE 7

During the probationary period, the Party organizations concerned shall give the probationary member an elementary Party education and observe his political qualities.

Probationary members have the same duties as full members. They enjoy the same rights as full members except that they have no right to elect or be elected or to vote on any motion.

ARTICLE 8

When the probationary period of a probationary member has expired, the Party branch to which he belongs must discuss without delay whether he is qualified to be transferred to full membership. Such a transfer must be accepted by a general membership meeting of the said Party branch and approved by the next higher Party committee.

When the probationary period of a probationary member has expired, the Party organization concerned may prolong it for a period not exceeding a year if it finds it necessary to continue to observe him. If a probationary member is found to be unfit for transfer to full membership, his status as probationary member shall be annulled.

Any decision by a Party branch to prolong the probationary period of a probationary member or to deprive him of his status as probationary member must be approved by the next higher Party committee.

ARTICLE 9

The probationary period of a probationary member begins from the day when the general membership meeting of a Party branch accepts him as probationary member. The Party standing of a Party member dates from the day when the general membership meeting of a Party branch accepts his transfer to full membership.

ARTICLE 10

Party members transferring from one Party organization to another become members of the latter organization.

ARTICLE 11

Party members are free to withdraw from the Party. When a Party member asks to withdraw, the Party branch to which he belongs shall, by decision of its general membership meeting, strike his name off the Party rolls and report the matter to the next higher Party committee for registration.

ARTICLE 12

A Party member who, over a period of six months and without proper reasons, fails to take part in Party life or to pay membership dues is regarded as having quitted the Party himself. The Party branch to which this member belongs shall, by decision of its general membership meeting, strike his name off the Party rolls and report the matter to the next higher Party committee for registration.

ARTICLE 13

Party organizations at all levels may, according to each individual case, take disciplinary measures against any Party member who violates Party discipline, such as warning, serious warning, removal from posts held in the Party, placing on probation within the Party, or expulsion from the Party.

The period in which a Party member is placed on probation shall not exceed two years. During this period, the rights and duties of the Party member concerned are the same as those of a probationary member. If after a Party member has been placed on probation the facts show that he has corrected his mistakes, his rights as full Party member shall be restored and the period in which he is

placed on probation will be reckoned in his Party standing. If he is found to be unfit for Party membership, he shall be expelled from the Party.

ARTICLE 14

Any disciplinary measure taken against a Party member must be decided on by a general membership meeting of the Party branch to which he belongs and must be approved by a higher Party control commission or higher Party committee.

Under special conditions, a Party branch committee or a higher Party committee has the power to take disciplinary measures against a Party member, but it must be subject to approval by a higher Party control commission or higher Party committee.

ARTICLE 15

Any decision to remove a member or alternate member of the Party committee of a county, an autonomous county, a municipality, a province, an autonomous region or a municipality directly under the central authority, or an autonomous *chou* from the said committee, to place him on probation or to expel him from the Party must be taken by the Party congress that has elected the said member. In conditions of urgency, such decision may be taken by a two-thirds majority vote at a plenary session of the Party committee to which the member belongs, but it must be subject to approval by the next higher Party committee. A primary Party organization has no power to take decisions on the removal of a member or alternate member of a higher Party committee from the said committee, or placing him on probation or expelling him from the Party.

ARTICLE 16

Any decision to remove a member or alternate member of the Central Committee of the Party from the Central Committee, to place him on probation or to expel him from the Party must be taken by the National Party Congress. In conditions of urgency, such decision may be taken by a two-thirds majority vote of the Central Committee at its plenary session, but it must be subject to subsequent confirmation by the next session of the National Party Congress.

ARTICLE 17

Expulsion from the Party is the most severe of all inner-Party disciplinary measures. In taking or approving such a decision, all Party organizations must exercise the utmost caution, thoroughly investigate and study the facts and material evidence of the case, and listen carefully to the statement made in his own defence by the Party member concerned.

ARTICLE 18

When a Party organization discusses or decides on disciplinary measure against a Party member, it must, barring special circumstances, notify the member concerned to attend the meeting to defend himself. When disciplinary action is decided on, the person against whom such action is taken must be told the reasons for it. If he disagrees, he may ask for a reconsideration of his case and address an appeal to higher Party committees, to Party control commissions, up to and including the Central Committee. Party organizations at all levels must deal with such appeals seriously or forward them promptly; no suppression is permitted.

CHAPTER II

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE AND ORGANIZATIONAL PRINCIPLES OF THE PARTY

ARTICLE 19

The Party is formed on the principles of democratic centralism.

Democratic centralism means centralism on the basis of democracy and democracy under centralized guidance. Its basic conditions are as follows:

(1) The leading bodies of the Party at all levels are elected.

(2) The highest leading body of the Party is the National Party Congress, and the highest leading body in each local Party organization is the local Party congress. The National Party Congress elects the Central Committee and the local Party congresses elect their respective local Party committees. The Central Committee and local Party committees are responsible to their respective Party congresses to which they should report on their work.

(3) All leading bodies of the Party must pay constant heed to the views of their lower organizations and the rank-and-file Party members, study their experiences and give prompt help in solving their problems.

(4) Lower Party organizations must present periodical reports on their work to the Party organizations above them and ask in good time for instructions on questions which need decision by higher Party organizations.

(5) All Party organizations operate on the principle of combining collective leadership with individual respon-

sibility. All important issues are to be decided on collectively, and at the same time, each individual is enabled to play his part to the fullest possible extent.

(6) Party decisions must be carried out unconditionally. Individual Party members shall obey the Party organization, the minority shall obey the majority, the lower Party organizations shall obey the higher Party organizations, and all constituent Party organizations throughout the country shall obey the National Party Congress and the Central Committee.

ARTICLE 20

Party organizations are formed on a geographical or industrial basis.

The Party organization in charge of Party work in a defined area is regarded as the highest of all the constituent Party organizations in that area.

The Party organization in charge of Party work in a particular production or work unit is regarded as the highest of all the constituent Party organizations in that unit.

ARTICLE 21

The highest leading bodies of the Party organizations at various levels are as follows:

(1) For the whole country, it is the National Party Congress. When the National Party Congress is not in session, it is the Central Committee elected by the National Party Congress;

(2) For a province, autonomous region, or municipality directly under the central authority, it is the provincial, autonomous regional or municipal Party congress. When the congress is not in session, it is the provincial, auton-

omous regional or municipal Party committee elected by the congress.

For an autonomous *chou*, it is the autonomous *chou* Party congress. When the congress is not in session, it is the autonomous *chou* committee elected by the congress;

(3) For a county, autonomous county or municipality, it is the county, autonomous county or municipal Party congress. When the congress is not in session, it is the county, autonomous county or municipal committee elected by the congress;

(4) For primary units (factories, mines and other enterprises, *hsiang*, nationality *hsiang*, towns and agricultural producers' co-operatives, offices, schools, streets, companies of the People's Liberation Army and other primary units), it is the delegate meeting or the general membership meeting of the particular primary unit. When the delegate meeting or general membership meeting of the primary unit is not in session, it is the primary Party committee, the committee of a general Party branch, or the committee of a Party branch elected by the delegate meeting or the general membership meeting.

ARTICLE 22

Party elections must fully reflect the will of the electors. The lists of candidates for election put forward by the Party organization or by electors must be discussed by the electors.

Election is by secret ballot. Electors shall be ensured of the right to criticize or reject any candidate, or nominate a person who is not on the list.

In an election in a primary Party organization, voting may be by a show of hands if voting by ballot is impossible. In such cases, each candidate shall be voted upon separately, and voting on a whole list of candidates is forbidden.

ARTICLE 23

Party electing units have the power to replace any member they have elected to a Party congress or Party committee during his term of office.

When a local Party congress is not in session, a higher Party committee, if it deems it necessary, may transfer or appoint responsible members of a lower Party organization.

ARTICLE 24

In places where, because of special circumstances, it is impossible for the time being to call Party congresses or general membership meetings to elect Party committees, such Party committees may be elected at Party conferences or appointed by higher Party organizations.

ARTICLE 25

The functions and powers of the central Party organizations and those of the local Party organizations shall be appropriately divided. All questions of a national character or questions that require a uniform decision for the whole country shall be handled by the central Party organizations so as to contribute to the centralism and unity of the Party. All questions of a local character or questions that need to be decided locally shall be handled by the local Party organizations so as to find solutions appropriate to the local conditions. The functions and powers of higher local Party organizations and those of lower local Party organizations shall be appropriately divided according to the same principle.

Decisions taken by lower Party organizations must not run counter to those made by higher Party organizations.

ARTICLE 26

Before decisions on Party policy are made by leading bodies of the Party, lower Party organizations and members of the Party committees may hold free and practical discussions inside the Party organizations and at Party meetings and submit their proposals to the leading bodies of the Party. However, once a decision is taken by the leading bodies of the Party, it must be accepted. Should a lower Party organization find that a decision made by a higher Party organization does not suit the actual conditions in its locality or in its particular department, it should request the higher Party organization concerned to modify the decision. If the higher Party organization still upholds its decision, then the lower Party organization must carry it out unconditionally.

On policy of a national character, before the central leading bodies of the Party have made any statement or decision, departmental and local Party organizations and their responsible members are not permitted to make any public statement or make decision at will, although they may discuss it among themselves and make suggestions to the central leading bodies.

ARTICLE 27

The newspapers issued by Party organizations at all levels must publicize the decisions and policy of the central Party organizations, of higher Party organizations and of their own Party organizations.

ARTICLE 28

The formation of a new Party organization or the dissolution of an existing Party organization must be decided on by the next higher Party organization.

ARTICLE 29

To facilitate the direction of the work in various localities, the Central Committee may, if it deems it necessary, establish a bureau of the Central Committee as its representative body for an area embracing several provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities directly under the central authority. A provincial or autonomous regional committee may, if it deems it necessary, establish a regional committee or an organization of equal status as its representative body for an area embracing a number of counties, autonomous counties and municipalities. The Party committee of a municipality directly under the central authority, or of a municipality, county or autonomous county may, if it deems it necessary, establish a number of district committees as its representative bodies within its area.

ARTICLE 30

Party committees at all levels may, as the situation requires, set up a number of departments, commissions or other bodies to carry on work under their own direction.

CHAPTER III

CENTRAL ORGANIZATIONS OF THE PARTY

ARTICLE 31

The National Party Congress is elected for a term of five years.

The number of delegates to the National Party Congress and the procedure governing their election and replacement and the filling of vacancies shall be determined by the Central Committee.

A session of the National Party Congress shall be convened once a year by the Central Committee. Under extraordinary conditions, it may be postponed or convened before its due date as the Central Committee may decide. The Central Committee must convene a session of the National Party Congress if one-third of the delegates to the National Party Congress or one-third of the Party organizations at provincial level so request.

ARTICLE 32

The functions and powers of the National Party Congress are as follows:

(1) To hear and examine the reports of the Central Committee and other central organs;

(2) To determine the Party's line and policy;

(3) To revise the Constitution of the Party;

(4) To elect the Central Committee.

ARTICLE 33

The Central Committee of the Party is elected for a term of five years. The number of members and alternate members of the Central Committee shall be determined by the National Party Congress. Vacancies on the Central Committee shall be filled by alternate members in order of established precedence.

ARTICLE 34

When the National Party Congress is not in session the Central Committee directs the entire work of the Party, carries out the decisions of the National Party Congress, represents the Party in its relations with other parties and organizations, sets up various Party organs and directs their activities, takes charge of and allocates Party cadres.

The Central Committee guides the work of the central state organs and people's organizations of a national character through leading Party members' groups within them.

ARTICLE 35

The Party organizations in the Chinese People's Liberation Army carry on their work in accordance with the instructions of the Central Committee. The General Political Department in the People's Liberation Army, under the direction of the Central Committee, takes charge of the ideological and organizational work of the Party in the army.

ARTICLE 36

The Central Committee meets in plenary session at least twice a year, to be convened by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee.

ARTICLE 37

The Central Committee elects at its plenary session the Political Bureau, the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau and the Secretariat, as well as the chairman, vice-chairmen and general secretary of the Central Committee.

When the Central Committee is not in plenary session, the Political Bureau and its Standing Committee exercise the powers and functions of the Central Committee.

The Secretariat attends to the daily work of the Central Committee under the direction of the Political Bureau and its Standing Committee.

The chairman and vice-chairmen of the Central Committee are concurrently chairman and vice-chairmen of the Political Bureau.

The Central Committee may, when it deems it necessary, have an honorary chairman.

CHAPTER IV

PARTY ORGANIZATIONS IN PROVINCES, AUTONOMOUS REGIONS, MUNICIPALITIES DIRECTLY UNDER THE CENTRAL AUTHORITY, AND AUTONOMOUS *CHOU*

ARTICLE 38

The Party congress for a province, autonomous region, or municipality directly under the central authority is elected for a term of three years.

The number of delegates to such a Party congress and the procedure governing their election and replacement and the filling of vacancies shall be determined by the Party committee in the given area.

The Party congress for a province, autonomous region or municipality directly under the central authority shall be convened once a year by the Party committee in the area.

ARTICLE 39

The Party congress for a province, autonomous region or municipality directly under the central authority hears and examines the reports of the Party committee and other organs in the area, discusses and decides on questions relating to policy and work of a local character in its area, elects the Party committee for the area, and elects delegates to the National Party Congress.

ARTICLE 40

The Party committee of a province, autonomous region, or municipality directly under the central authority is elected for a term of three years. The number of members and alternate members of the committee shall be determined by the Central Committee. Vacancies on the committee shall be filled by alternate members of the committee in order of established precedence.

The Party committee of a province, autonomous region, or municipality directly under the central authority shall, when the Party congress for the given area is not in session, carry out the decisions and directives of the Party in its area, direct all work of a local character, set up various Party organs and direct their activities, take charge of and allocate Party cadres in accordance with the regulations laid down by the Central Committee, direct the work of leading Party members' groups in local state organs and people's organizations and systematically report on its work to the Central Committee.

ARTICLE 41

The Party committee of a province, autonomous region, or municipality directly under the central authority shall meet in full session at least three times a year.

The Party committee of a province, autonomous region, or municipality directly under the central authority elects at its plenary session its standing committee and secretariat. The standing committee exercises the powers and functions of the Party committee when the latter is not in plenary session. The secretariat attends to the daily work under the direction of the standing committee.

The members of the secretariat and those of the standing committee of the Party committee of a province, autonomous region or municipality directly under the central

authority, must be approved by the Central Committee. Members of the secretariat must be Party members of at least five years' standing.

ARTICLE 42

Party organizations in an autonomous *chou* carry on their work under the direction of a provincial or autonomous regional Party committee.

The Party congress and Party committee for an autonomous *chou* are constituted in the same manner as those for a province, autonomous region or municipality directly under the central authority.

The Party congress and Party committee for an autonomous *chou* are elected for a term of two years.

An autonomous *chou* Party congress elects delegates to the provincial or autonomous regional Party congress.

The members of the secretariat and those of the standing committee of an autonomous *chou* Party committee must be approved by the Central Committee. The secretaries must be Party members of at least three years' standing.

CHAPTER V

COUNTY, AUTONOMOUS COUNTY AND MUNICIPAL PARTY ORGANIZATIONS

ARTICLE 43

The Party congress for a county, autonomous county or municipality is elected for a term of two years.

The number of delegates to the congress and the procedure governing their election and replacement and the filling of vacancies shall be determined by the Party committee in the area.

The Party congress for a county, autonomous county or municipality shall be convened once a year by the Party committee in the area.

ARTICLE 44

The Party congress for a county, autonomous county or municipality hears and examines the reports of the Party committee and other organs in the area, discusses and decides on questions relating to the policy and work of a local character in its area, elects the Party committee for the area and elects delegates to the provincial or autonomous regional Party congress.

The Party congress for a county, autonomous county or municipality under the jurisdiction of an autonomous *chou* elects delegates only to the Party congress of the said autonomous *chou*.

ARTICLE 45

The Party committee of a county, autonomous county or municipality is elected for a term of two years. The number of members and alternate members of the committee shall be determined by the provincial or autonomous regional Party committee concerned. Vacancies on the committee shall be filled by alternate members of the committee in order of established precedence.

When the Party congress for a county, autonomous county or municipality is not in session, the Party committee in the area carries out Party decisions and directives in its area, directs all work of a local character, sets up various Party organs and directs their activities, takes charge of and allocates Party cadres in accordance with the regulations laid down by the Central Committee, directs the work of leading Party members' groups in local government organs and people's organizations and systematically reports on its work to higher Party committees.

ARTICLE 46

The Party committee of a county, autonomous county or municipality shall meet in plenary session at least four times a year.

The county, autonomous county or municipal Party committee elects at its plenary session its standing committee and secretary, and, if necessary, a secretariat. The standing committee exercises the powers and functions of the Party committee when the latter is not in plenary session. The secretary or the secretariat attends to the daily work under the direction of the standing committee.

The members of the secretariat and those of the standing committee must be approved by the provincial or autonomous regional Party committee. In the case of a city

with a population of 500,000 or more or in the case of a key industrial city, such members must be approved by the Central Committee. The secretaries of the Party committee of a county, autonomous county or municipality must be Party members of at least two years' standing. In the case of a city with a population of 500,000 or more or in the case of a key industrial city, the secretaries of the Party committee must be Party members of at least five years' standing.

CHAPTER VI

PRIMARY ORGANIZATIONS OF THE PARTY

ARTICLE 47

Primary Party organizations are formed in factories, mines and other enterprises, in *hsiang* and nationality *hsiang*, in towns, in agricultural producers' co-operatives, in offices, schools and streets, in companies of the People's Liberation Army and in other primary units where there are three or more full Party members. When a primary unit contains less than three full Party members, no primary Party organization should be established, but these members together with the probationary members in their unit may either form a group or join the primary Party organization of a nearby unit.

ARTICLE 48

Primary Party organizations take the following organizational forms:

(1) A primary Party organization with one hundred or more Party members may, by decision of the next higher Party committee, hold a delegate meeting or a general membership meeting to elect a primary Party committee. Under the primary Party committee a number of general branches or branches may be formed in accordance with divisions based on production, work or residence. Under a general Party branch a number of Party branches may be formed. The committee of a general Party branch is

elected by a general membership meeting or a delegate meeting of the said general branch. The committee of a Party branch is elected by the general membership meeting of the said branch. The committee of the primary Party organization or of the general Party branch has the power to approve decisions made by a branch on the admission of new members and on disciplinary measures against Party members.

Under special conditions, individual primary Party organizations with less than one hundred members each may, by decision of the next higher Party committee, establish a committee of the said primary organizations.

(2) A primary Party organization with fifty or more Party members may, by decision of the next higher Party committee, set up a general branch committee to be elected by a general membership meeting or a delegate meeting. Under a general branch committee a number of branches may be formed in accordance with divisions based on production, work or residence. The general branch committee has the power to approve decisions made by a branch on the admission of new members and on disciplinary measures against Party members.

Under special conditions, a general branch committee may, by decision of the next higher Party committee, be set up in a primary Party organization whose membership is less than fifty but whose work requires a general branch committee or in a primary Party organization whose membership numbers one hundred or more but whose work does not require a primary Party committee.

(3) A primary Party organization with less than fifty members may, by decision of the next higher Party committee, set up a branch committee to be elected by a general membership meeting, and has the power to make decisions on the admission of new members and on disciplinary measures against Party members.

(4) Groups may be formed under a general Party branch or a Party branch.

ARTICLE 49

A primary Party organization which has set up its own primary committee shall convene a delegate meeting at least once a year. A general Party branch shall hold a general membership meeting or a delegate meeting at least twice a year. A Party branch shall hold a general membership meeting at least once in three months.

The delegate meeting or general membership meeting of a primary Party organization hears and examines the reports of the primary Party committee, the general branch committees or the branch committees, discusses and decides on questions relating to work in its own unit, elects the primary Party committee, the general Party branch committees, or the branch committees, and elects delegates to the higher Party congress.

The primary Party committee, the general Party branch committee and the branch committee are elected for a term of one year. The number of members of these committees shall be determined by their respective next higher Party committees.

A primary Party committee shall elect a secretary and from one to four deputy secretaries. If necessary, it may elect a standing committee. The general branch committee and the branch committee shall each elect a secretary, and, if necessary, one to three deputy secretaries.

A Party branch with less than ten members only elects a secretary or in addition a deputy secretary, but no branch committee needs to be formed.

A Party group shall elect a leader and, if necessary, a deputy leader.

ARTICLE 50

Primary Party organizations must cement the ties of the workers, peasants, intellectuals and other patriotic people with the Party and its leading bodies. The general tasks of primary Party organizations are as follows:

(1) To carry on propaganda and organizational work among the masses and put into practice what the Party advocates, and the decisions of higher Party organizations;

(2) To pay constant heed to the sentiments and demands of the masses and report them to higher Party organizations, to pay constant attention to the material and cultural life of the masses and strive to improve it;

(3) To recruit new Party members, to collect membership dues, to examine and appraise Party members and to maintain Party discipline among the membership;

(4) To organize Party members to study Marxism-Leninism and the Party's policy and experience and raise the levels of their ideology and political understanding;

(5) To lead the masses of the people to take an active part in the political life of the country;

(6) To lead the masses to give full play to their activity and creative ability, to strengthen labour discipline and to ensure the fulfilment of the production and work plans;

(7) To promote criticism and self-criticism, to expose and eliminate shortcomings and mistakes in work, and to wage struggles against the violation of laws and discipline, against corruption and waste, and against bureaucracy;

(8) To educate the Party members and the masses to sharpen their revolutionary vigilance and to be constantly on the alert to combat the disruptive activities of the class enemy.

ARTICLE 51

Primary Party organizations in the enterprises, villages, schools and army units should guide and supervise the administrative bodies and mass organizations in their respective units in the energetical fulfilment of the decisions of higher Party organizations and higher state organs and in ceaselessly improving their work.

Since special conditions obtain in public institutions and organizations, the primary Party organizations therein are in no position to guide and supervise their work, but they should supervise ideologically and politically all Party members in the said institutions and organizations, including those who hold leading administrative posts. The primary Party organizations should also take a constant interest in improving the work in their respective units, strengthen labour discipline, combat bureaucracy, and report without delay any shortcomings in the work to the administrative chiefs of the given units and to higher Party organizations.

CHAPTER VII

CONTROL ORGANS OF THE PARTY

ARTICLE 52

The Party's Central Committee, the Party committees of the provinces, autonomous regions, municipalities directly under the central authority, and autonomous *chou*, and the Party committees of the counties, autonomous counties and municipalities shall set up control commissions. The Central Control Commission shall be elected by the Central Committee at its plenary session. A local control commission shall be elected by a plenary session of the Party committee for that locality, subject to approval by the next higher Party committee.

ARTICLE 53

The tasks of the central and local control commissions are as follows: regularly to examine and deal with cases of violation of the Party Constitution, Party discipline, communist ethics and the state laws and decrees on the part of Party members; to decide on or cancel disciplinary measures against Party members; and to deal with appeals and complaints from Party members.

ARTICLE 54

The control commissions at all levels function under the direction of the Party committees at corresponding levels.

Higher control commissions have the power to check up on the work of lower control commissions, and to approve or modify their decisions on any case. Lower control commissions must report on their work to higher control commissions, and present accurate reports on the violation of discipline by Party members.

CHAPTER VIII

RELATION BETWEEN THE PARTY AND THE COMMUNIST YOUTH LEAGUE

ARTICLE 55

The Communist Youth League of China carries on its activities under the guidance of the Communist Party of China. The Central Committee of the Communist Youth League accepts the leadership of the Party's Central Committee. The Communist Youth League's local organizations are simultaneously under the leadership of the Party organizations at the corresponding levels and of higher League organizations.

ARTICLE 56

The Communist Youth League is the Party's assistant. In all spheres of socialist construction Communist Youth League organizations should play an active role in publicizing and carrying out Party policy and decisions. In the struggle to promote production, improve work, and expose and eliminate shortcomings and mistakes in work, the Communist Youth League organizations should render effective help to the Party and have the duty to make suggestions to the Party organizations concerned.

ARTICLE 57

Party organizations at all levels must take a deep interest in the Communist Youth League's ideological and organizational work, give guidance to the Communist Youth League in imbuing all its members with communist spirit and educating them in Marxist-Leninist theory, see to it that close contact is maintained between the Communist Youth League and the broad masses of young people and pay constant attention to selecting members for the leading core in the Communist Youth League.

ARTICLE 58

Members of the Communist Youth League shall withdraw from the League when they have been admitted to the Party and have become full Party members, provided they do not hold leading posts or engage in specific work in the League organizations.

CHAPTER IX

LEADING PARTY MEMBERS' GROUPS IN NON-PARTY ORGANIZATIONS

ARTICLE 59

In the leading body of a state organ or people's organization, where there are three or more Party members holding responsible posts, a leading Party members' group shall be formed. The tasks of such a group in the said organ or organization are: to assume the responsibility of carrying out Party policy and decisions, to fortify unity with non-Party cadres, to cement the ties with the masses, to strengthen Party and state discipline and to combat bureaucracy.

ARTICLE 60

The composition of a leading Party members' group shall be decided by a competent Party committee. The group has a secretary, and may, in case of need, also have a deputy secretary.

A leading Party members' group must in all matters accept the leadership of the competent Party committee.

THE MADURA

TENG HSIAO-PING

REPORT ON THE REVISION OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA

Delivered at the Eighth National Congress of the Communist Party of China
September 16, 1956

Comrades,

More than eleven years have passed since the Seventh National Congress of our Party was held in April 1945. During this period tremendous changes have taken place in both our country and our Party. In a little over three years, our Party, led by the Central Committee with Comrade Mao Tse-tung at the head, and rallying the people of the whole country, defeated Chiang Kai-shek's army of several million troops, overthrew the rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, and established the People's Republic of China. Following this nation-wide victory of the revolution, the Party and the People's Government, again in no more than three years, completed the rehabilitation of our national economy and carried out a series of democratic reforms. From 1953 on, the Party and the People's Government have been engaged in the construction work mapped out in the First Five-Year Plan, and have won decisive victories in the work of socialist transformation. This succession of magnificent victories furnishes indisputable proof of the correctness of the political line laid down by the Seventh National Congress of the Party and of the political leadership of the Central Committee of the Party since the Seventh Congress. It is also indisputable proof of the correctness of the organizational line laid down by the Seventh National Congress of the Party and of the organizational leadership of the Central Committee in the same period. Comrade Liu Shao-chi has already made a detailed report on the various aspects of the work done by the Party during this period, and the tasks that now confront it. Now, entrusted by the Central Committee, I am making this report on the revisions in our Party Constitution which are

necessitated by the changes that have taken place in the condition of the Party.

I

The draft of the Party Constitution now before the Congress for consideration has been discussed by Party organizations in all localities, and has undergone much revision. The present draft does not show any difference in fundamental principle as compared with the Constitution adopted at the Seventh Congress, but in specific content it contains many changes, including a number of changes which have the significance of principles.

At the time of the Seventh Congress, our People's Revolution had not yet achieved victory in most parts of the country. Most of our cities and communication lines were then still under the occupation of the Japanese aggressors, and the greater part of the rear areas was still under the control of the Chiang Kai-shek government. The various liberated areas under the leadership of the Party were still cut off from one another by the enemy. At that time there were 1,210,000 Party members, the vast majority of whom were in the rural districts in the liberated areas. Our Party members in the Kuomintang-controlled and Japanese-occupied areas were working underground.

Now the situation in our country is entirely changed. Under the leadership of our Party, the People's Revolution won a nation-wide victory in 1949, and an unprecedented national unity was brought into existence. Now, except in a few border areas, we have not only successfully completed the tasks of the stage of bourgeois-democratic revolution, but have in the main carried out the tasks of the stage of socialist revolution. Besides, we have, in the past seven years, made tremendous achievements in all spheres of our socialist construction. All this has brought about a funda-

mental change in the class relationships in our country. The working class has become the leading class of the state; the peasantry has changed from individual farming to co-operative farming; and the bourgeoisie as a class is on its way to extinction.

A great change has also come about in the situation of our Party. The Communist Party of China is now a party in power, playing the leading role in all the work of the state. Party organizations have spread to every city and town, to every county and district, to every major enterprise and among the various nationalities. Now, the Party membership is nine times what it was at the time of the Seventh Congress, and nearly three times what it was in 1949 at the time of our nation-wide victory. Furthermore, the majority of our Party members are now working in government offices, economic and cultural establishments and people's organizations at all levels. All these changes make it imperative for us to pay the greatest attention to strengthening the Party's organizational work and educational work among the membership.

As a party in power our Party has been confronted with a fresh test. Generally speaking, our Party has withstood the test in the past seven years. Our country has made remarkable progress in all spheres, and the overwhelming majority of our Party members are working hard and doing well at their respective posts. But the experience of these seven years has also shown us that, with the Party in power, our comrades are liable to be tainted with bureaucracy. Both for Party organizations and individual members the danger of drifting away from reality and from the masses has increased rather than decreased. Any such drifting away is bound to give rise to errors of subjectivism, that is, errors of doctrinairism and empiricism, and such errors have increased rather than decreased in our Party compared with the situation of a few years ago.

The position of the Party as a party in power can also easily breed arrogance and self-complacency among the membership. Some Party members become puffed-up over the smallest success in their work, and tend to look down upon others, upon the masses, upon non-Party personalities, as though the mere fact of being Party members makes them stand head and shoulders above non-Party people. Some, fond of showing off as leader, order the masses about from above, and are reluctant to consult them in their work. This is in fact a tendency towards narrow sectarianism, a dangerous tendency which leads to the most serious isolation from the masses.

In view of this situation, the Party must pay constant attention to combating subjectivism, bureaucracy and sectarianism, and must always guard against the danger of drifting away from reality and from the masses. Therefore, apart from strengthening the ideological education of its members, the Party has a task even more important, namely, to strengthen the Party's leadership in various ways and to make appropriate provisions in both the state and the Party systems for a strict supervision over our Party organizations and Party members.

We need to carry out supervision within the Party, and we also need supervision of our Party organizations and Party members by the masses and by non-Party personalities. The crucial thing about supervision whether coming from inside or outside the Party is to promote the democratic life in the Party and the state, and to develop our Party's traditional style of work, a style of "the integration of theory with practice, close contact with the masses, and the practice of self-criticism," as expounded by Comrade Mao Tse-tung in his political report at the Seventh Congress.

It is clear that the above-mentioned great changes in our country and our Party have made higher rather than lower demands on our Party. Clearly too, more is expected of our Party members, not less. The draft Constitution now

placed before the Congress contains appropriate revisions of the existing Party Constitution, made on the basis of the new conditions and demands.

Furthermore, since the Seventh Congress our Party has accumulated a great deal of fresh experience in maintaining close ties with the people, in organizing them, in uniting with the democratic forces outside the Party, in guiding state affairs and economic work, and in developing and consolidating the Party and giving leadership to all the Party organizations and the mass of the membership so that they may become closely united and do their work well. This store of new experience also finds suitable expression in the draft Constitution.

This is all I want to say regarding the conditions on the basis of which the Party Constitution has been revised.

II

The General Programme of the draft Constitution, placed side by side with that of the existing Constitution, will be found to contain many changes, especially in the political field. This is understandable. The General Programme in our Party Constitution embodies the basic political and organizational programme of the Party. Now that a fundamental change has taken place in the political situation of our country, fundamental changes must also be made in our political programme for the present period. With regard to the political section of the General Programme, I hardly think any more explanation is needed, for you have all heard Comrade Liu Shao-chi's report. What needs to be elaborated first of all in relation to the General Programme of the draft Constitution is the question of the Party's mass line.

The question of the mass line is not a new one in the work of our Party. The Party Constitution adopted by the

Seventh Congress, particularly its General Programme, is permeated with the spirit of the mass line. At the same Congress illuminating explanations of the mass line were given by Comrade Mao Tse-tung in his political report when he spoke about the Party's style of work, and also by Comrade Liu Shao-chi when he dealt with the General Programme in his report on the revision of the Party Constitution. The reasons why the mass line must again be explained with great emphasis now are as follows. First, the mass line is a fundamental question in the Party's organizational work and the Party Constitution and therefore needs constant reiteration in Party education. True, this question was explained at the Seventh Congress, but since the vast majority of our present members joined the Party after the last Congress, and since practice has shown that many comrades have failed to adhere consistently to the mass line, it is evident that education on the mass line within the Party can by no means be considered adequate. Secondly, the experience gained by the Party in the eleven years of actual struggle since the Seventh Congress has given the mass line a richer and more profound content, which has therefore been further elucidated in the draft Party Constitution. The General Programme in the draft Constitution stresses that the Party must unceasingly strive to develop the tradition of the mass line in Party work, and points out that since the Party is now in power, this task has acquired an even greater significance than before.

What is the mass line in Party work? Briefly stated, it has two aspects. In one respect, it maintains that the people must liberate themselves, that the Party's entire task is to serve the people heart and soul, and that the Party's role in leading the masses lies in pointing out to them the correct path of struggle and helping them to struggle for and build a happy life by their own effort. Consequently, the Party must keep in close contact with the masses and rely on them, and must in no circumstances lose touch with

them or place itself above them. For the same reason every Party member must cultivate a style of work of serving the people, holding himself responsible to the masses, never failing to consult them, and being ever ready to share their joys and sorrows.

In another respect, the mass line maintains that the Party's ability to go on exercising correct leadership hinges upon its ability to adopt the method of "coming from the masses and going back to the masses." This means — to quote from the Central Committee's "Resolution on Methods of Leadership," drafted by Comrade Mao Tse-tung — "summing up (i.e. co-ordinating and systematizing after careful study) the views of the masses (i.e. views scattered and unsystematic), then taking the resulting ideas back to the masses, explaining and popularizing them until the masses embrace the ideas as their own, stand up for them and act on them and then testing the correctness of these ideas in mass activity. Then it is necessary once more to sum up the views of the masses, and once again take the resulting ideas back to the masses so that the masses give them their whole-hearted support. . . . And so on, over and over again, so that each time these ideas emerge with greater correctness and become more vital and meaningful."

The mass line in Party work is of profound theoretical and practical significance. Marxism has always maintained that history, in the last analysis, is made by the people. Only by relying on its own mass strength and that of all labouring people will the working class be able to fulfil its historical mission — the mission of liberating itself and, with it, all labouring people. The greater the awakening, activity and creative ability of the masses, the more flourishing the cause of the working class. Consequently, a political party of the working class, unlike the political parties of the bourgeoisie, never regards the masses as its tools, but consciously regards itself as their tool for carrying out their

given historical mission in a given historical period. The Communist Party is the collective body of the advanced elements among the working class and the labouring people, and there can be no doubt as to its great role in leading the masses. But the Party can play its part as vanguard and lead the masses forward precisely and solely because it whole-heartedly serves the masses, represents their will and interests, and strives to help them organize themselves to fight for their own interests and for the fulfilment of their will. To fully affirm this concept of the Party is to affirm that the Party has no right whatever to place itself above the masses, that is, no right to act towards the masses as if it were dispensing "favours," to take everything into its own hands and impose its will "by decree," or rather no right to lord it over the people.

Unless we understand from a correct ideological approach that our Party policy must of necessity be "coming from the masses and going back to the masses," we can obtain no real solution to the problem of the Party's relations with the masses. Practice has shown that there are many people who do not lack the desire to serve the masses and yet bungle their work in a way that does great harm to the masses. This is because they regard themselves as advanced elements, or as leaders knowing a great deal more than the masses. Therefore, they neither learn from the masses nor consult them, with the result that their ideas more often than not prove impracticable. Far from learning from their mistakes and failures, they blame them on the backwardness of the masses or other accidental factors, abuse the Party's prestige, and wilfully and arbitrarily persist in their actions, thereby aggravating their mistakes and failures. The history of our Party furnishes us with instances of such subjectivists causing incalculable losses to our Party, to the Chinese revolution and the Chinese people. The subjectivists do not understand that only those who really know how to be students of the masses can ever

become their teachers, and only by continuing to be students can they continue to be teachers. Only by carefully summing up the experience of the masses and bringing their wisdom together, can a party and its members point to the correct path and lead the masses forward. We do not tail behind the masses, and we know quite well that the opinions which come from the masses cannot be all correct and mature. What we mean by summing up the experience and bringing together the wisdom of the masses is by no means a simple process of accumulation; there must be classification, analysis, critical judgment and synthesis. But without investigation and study of the experience and opinions of the masses, no leader, however talented, can lead correctly. Mistakes may still be made even after classification, analysis, critical judgment and synthesis have been made. But by constantly consulting the masses and studying their practice, the Party will be able to make fewer mistakes and to discover and correct them in time so as to prevent them from becoming serious.

The mass line in Party work, therefore, demands that the Party leadership should conduct themselves with modesty and prudence. Arrogance, arbitrariness, rashness, and habits of pretending to be clever, of not consulting the masses, of forcing one's opinions on others, of persisting in errors to keep up one's prestige — all these are utterly incompatible with the Party's mass line.

Let us look back on the path our Party has traversed since the Seventh Congress through the War of Liberation, the land reform and the suppression of counter-revolutionaries, the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce, and the development of industry, agriculture and other economic and cultural work — in all these fields our Party has won great victories. But which of them could have been won without following the mass line? For example, why is it that the officers and men of the People's Liberation Army could

beat the Kuomintang army, which was superior both in numbers and in equipment? Is it not chiefly because they upheld the principle of serving the people, built up exemplary relations between the army and the people through its self-sacrificing behaviour, created inside the armed forces a comradeship which developed the initiative of junior officers and common soldiers to the fullest extent, and drew conclusions from the experience of each battle by depending on the rank and file, thus making continuous progress, both strategic and tactical? Soldiers carrying water for local inhabitants, officers putting blankets over sleeping soldiers, the calling of "collective wisdom meetings" in the trenches, caring for the health and self-respect of the captured and not searching their pockets — all these appear to be small matters, but they had a good deal to do with the winning of many a great victory.

Again, why is it that hundreds of millions of peasants, oppressed by the landlords for thousands of years, have become masters of their own fate and are resolutely building up their own new life? Is it not because in the period of the land reform the work teams sent out by our Party really went among the poor peasants, discovered the active elements among them, aroused their class consciousness, mobilized the peasants themselves to overthrow the rule of the landlords and share out their land, and thus made the peasants really recognize their own strength and form their own leading nuclei, instead of turning the landlords' land over to the peasants simply by issuing government orders? What has made the peasants join the agricultural producers' co-operatives so readily and of their own will? Is it not because our Party, starting from the experience of the masses themselves, gave extensive assistance to the peasants in organizing seasonal mutual-aid teams, then all-the-year-round mutual-aid teams, then elementary co-operatives, and finally advanced co-operatives, so that the

peasants might come through practice to a firm belief in the superiority of co-operation?

Let me give another example. How can our country achieve so much with a minimum of mistakes in the campaign for combing out counter-revolutionaries? Is it not because we have adopted the correct policy of co-ordinating the work of special government departments with the mobilization of the masses? Is it not because we have fully mobilized the masses that, under the sharp and watchful eyes of hundreds of millions of people, large numbers of counter-revolutionaries, unable to find hiding-places, are forced to hang their heads, admit their guilt, and embrace the opportunity to reform themselves and turn over a new leaf?

Yet another example. In less than three years after the liberation of the whole country, we changed the appallingly corrupt social climate of the old society into a new social climate with a fine moral character. How could such results have been obtained without the conscious and voluntary participation of the masses, without their mutual education, mutual persuasion and help?

There are more examples. We have completely wiped out the evil of opium-smoking, and have won victories in our large-scale patriotic public health movement, in production, construction and various other kinds of work. Which one of these victories could have been won if the movement or the task in question had not actually reflected the demands of the broad masses and been translated into conscious and voluntary action by them?

When we speak of the great victories our Party has won as a result of following the mass line, we do not mean that all our work in this regard has been excellent. On the contrary, our purpose is to remind the whole Party that if correct application of the mass line has brought success, any departure from it will certainly damage our work and the people's interests. As I have mentioned above, the

present position of our Party as a party in power throughout the country has greatly increased the danger of our drifting away from the masses, and the damage this can do to the masses is also greater than before. Therefore, to seriously propagate and carry out the mass line in the whole Party is also of special significance at present.

Among many functionaries in Party organizations and state organs, various tendencies towards bureaucracy are springing up. Not a few leading bodies and leading cadres hold themselves aloof and do not come into close contact with the masses; they pay no special attention to investigation and study and are unaware of how things really stand in their work. When they consider their work and make decisions they very often start, not from the objective conditions and what the masses actually do, but subjectively from inaccurate information or from their own imagination and wishes. Therefore, although they issue numerous decisions and instructions, some of these are not altogether correct and some are even entirely wrong. When they carry out the instructions of higher organizations and the Central Committee, they often fail to consult their subordinate comrades and the masses, and do not take into consideration the actual conditions of a particular time and place but just carry the instructions out mechanically and blindly. They often feel satisfied with superficial achievements and ignore the actual result of their work. They see only the bright side of their work and not the seamy side, or else they go after quantity only and do not care much about quality. They have no definite ideas about their work, so they constantly vacillate. Sometimes they fall victims to Rightist conservatism with their ideas lagging behind the reality, and sometimes they are rash and place undue emphasis on quantity and speed, attempting to go beyond what is actually possible.

Not a few responsible comrades in different departments spend most of their time dealing with official papers and

telegrams, and attending too many unnecessary meetings. They very seldom go deep into the basic organizations and into the midst of the masses in order to find out their needs and study their experience, and thus they fall inevitably into a groove of routine and red tape. Not a few leading comrades like to build up a huge structure of organizations inside their own department. Because of these unwieldy and overlapping organizations, the opinions and needs of the masses cannot be accurately and promptly brought to their notice, nor can their own decisions and instructions be correctly and quickly carried out. Thus they set up many artificial barriers between themselves and the masses. Quite a number of responsible comrades, when problems calling for immediate solution arise in their work, do not themselves tackle these problems, but pass them on to those on a lower rung of the departmental ladder, and these people in turn pass them on to others on a still lower rung, and finally the solution of the problem is again reported from rung to rung by reversing this process. In consequence the problems are either mishandled or left unsolved until too late. In either case, the work is bound to suffer. What is even more serious is that some leading comrades are unwilling to come into contact with the masses, and do not feel any concern for the people's welfare; instead of trying actively to solve the problems for which the masses want an immediate solution, they remain aloof and indifferent.

Among some cadres bureaucracy also assumes the form of swollen conceit and self-complacency. These comrades exaggerate the role of the individual and emphasize personal prestige. They lend a willing ear to flattery and praise, but cannot bear criticism or supervision; some persons with bad character even go so far as to stifle criticism and resort to reprisals against their critics. There are people of yet another kind in our Party who reverse the relations between the Party and the people. Instead of

serving the people, they abuse their authority over the people and do all manner of evil deeds in contravention of law and discipline. This is a most wicked, anti-popular style of work, a hang-over in our own ranks of the working style characteristic of the ruling classes of the old days. Although the number of such cadres is small, the harm they do is very great.

Another fairly widespread form of bureaucracy is commandism. Quite a number of Party organizations and cadres fail to consult the masses before they make decisions and issue instructions. Moreover, in the process of carrying out these decisions and instructions they do not try to persuade and educate the masses, but simply resort to issuing orders to get things done. Comrades who commit such mistakes may subjectively wish to do things well, but actually they do their work very badly. Such mistakes of commandism appear relatively glaring among the primary Party organizations and their cadres, but mistakes of this kind in the lower organizations are often inseparable from the subjectivist and bureaucratic methods of leadership employed by the leading bodies above them.

The presence of the above-mentioned mistakes shows that the mass line is still far from being thoroughly carried out in our Party. We must constantly wage struggle against such manifestations of bureaucracy and isolation from the masses. We must realize also that bureaucracy, being a survival of the age-long rule of exploiters in the history of mankind, has a deep and far-reaching influence on the socio-political life. Therefore, the struggle to carry out the mass line and overcome bureaucracy is bound to be a long-term affair.

This task is set forth both in the General Programme and in all the relevant articles of the draft Party Constitution. Of course, these provisions by themselves cannot solve the problem. We must in addition adopt a series of practical measures. What measures must we take?

First, we must vigorously expound the mass line throughout the Party's educational network, in the educational literature for Party members, and in all Party newspapers and periodicals.

Secondly, we must systematically improve the working methods of the leading bodies at all levels so that the leading personnel will have ample time to go deep into the midst of the masses, and study their conditions, their experience and their opinions by investigating typical situations. This should replace the present practice of spending most of the time in offices, handling papers and documents and holding meetings inside the leading bodies. The staff of the leading bodies should be cut down and the number of organizational levels be reduced. The leading bodies should send as many of their superfluous working personnel as possible to lower bodies and let the remaining ones handle practical work themselves, so as to guard against the danger of the leading bodies turning bureaucratic.

Thirdly, we must see to it that the democratic life of the Party and the state is fully developed so that the lower organizations of the Party and government will have adequate facilities and the assurance to make timely and fearless criticism of all mistakes and shortcomings in the work of the higher bodies, and that all kinds of Party or state meetings, especially Party congresses and people's congresses at all levels, will serve as the forum where the opinions of the masses can be fully voiced and criticism and debate freely used.

Fourthly, we must strengthen supervision by the Party and the state, discover and correct in time all kinds of bureaucratic practices, and mete out due and prompt punishment to those who have contravened law and discipline or seriously damaged the interests of the masses.

Fifthly, the Party organizations in various localities and departments must check up at regular intervals on the

working style of all Party members through criticism by the masses and through self-criticism, drawing on the experience gained in Party rectification campaigns of the past. In particular, they must carefully check up on how the mass line is being carried out.

In the struggle to carry out the mass line and combat bureaucracy, it is of vital importance to strengthen still further our co-operation with non-Party people, and to draw as many of them as possible into the struggle. At present, however, there are a good many comrades in our Party, including some in fairly responsible positions, who still have the defect of being either reluctant or unaccustomed to co-operate with non-Party people. This, in fact, is a very harmful sectarian tendency, and only when such a tendency is overcome can the Party's united front policy be carried out thoroughly.

Such comrades must be made to understand that our Party's co-operation with other democratic parties and with democratic personalities having no party affiliations is a long-term affair and this policy was fixed long ago. Ever since the period of the Anti-Japanese War, our Party has been pursuing a policy of co-operation with democratic personalities outside the Party. Since the founding of the People's Republic of China, our co-operation with other democratic parties and democratic personalities having no party affiliations has gone a step further. The experience of the last ten years or so has shown that this kind of co-operation is beneficial, and not harmful, to the cause of our Party. Many of the democratic personalities who co-operated with us were at first political representatives of the bourgeoisie or the petty-bourgeoisie, but in the course of co-operation they have gradually and in varying degrees shifted their standpoint towards socialism, and will continue to shift further in this direction. Of course, there are struggles in this kind of co-operation. This is inevitable. But the point is that these democratic personalities

can provide a kind of supervision over our Party which cannot easily be provided by Party members alone; they can discover mistakes and shortcomings in our work which may escape our own notice, and render us valuable help in work. The help they can give us is bound to become greater now that socialist transformation has won a decisive victory and their standpoint is coming closer to ours than ever before. Therefore, our task is to continue to broaden our co-operation with non-Party people and to enable them to play an even greater role than before in our struggle against bureaucracy and in all fields of state affairs.

This is all I want to say about the significance of the mass line and the need for the Party to continue to follow it in our work.

III

Democratic centralism is our Party's Leninist organizational principle. It is the fundamental organizational principle of the Party, the mass line in Party work applied to the life of the Party itself. In the General Programme and in Chapter Two of the draft Constitution, more detailed provisions are made concerning democratic centralism in the Party. These provisions are the result of many years' experience gained in the organizational life of our Party.

The Party depends on all its members and organizations to maintain contact with the broad masses of the people. The collection of opinions and experiences from among the masses, the publicizing of the Party's policy so as to turn it into the views of the masses, and the organization of the masses to put the Party's policy into effect — all this must be done, generally speaking, through the efforts of the Party members and lower Party organizations.

Therefore, with regard to the question of democratic centralism in the Party, what is of special significance is to correctly regulate the relations between the Party organization and its members, between higher and lower Party organizations, and between central and local Party organizations.

In the history of our Party deviations have occurred in the relations between higher and lower organizations. During the period when "Leftist" opportunism was dominant in the Party, the deviation took the form of excessive centralization. During that period, the lower organizations had practically no right to voice their own opinions to the higher organizations. The leadership in the higher organizations not only showed no interest in the situation and opinions of the lower organizations, but even attacked those who, basing themselves on the actual situation, put forward reasoned opinions which differed from those of the higher organizations. This kind of mistake was, generally speaking, overcome after the Central Committee had brought the domination of "Leftist" opportunism to an end in January 1935.

Since 1935 the relations between higher and lower organizations, and between central and local organizations in our Party have on the whole been normal. The Central Committee, when it has had to deal with important questions of a national character, has always done its best to consult the comrades working in the various localities and departments and listen to their opinions, and, in general, free and repeated discussion took place when differences of opinion occurred. As we all know, many important directives of the Central Committee were first sent out in draft form to local organizations, which were asked to suggest revisions after they had discussed them and put them tentatively into operation; they were issued in official form only after being revised in the light of the opinions received — a process which takes several months, sometimes

even more than a year, to complete. The Central Committee also permits local organizations to modify its directives according to local conditions if they really find it impossible to carry out the directives as they are. Not only during the Anti-Japanese War and the War of Liberation but also in the first few years after the founding of the People's Republic of China, the Central Committee gave local organizations extensive powers to deal with problems independently, and facts have proved that it was perfectly correct to do so. Generally speaking, relations between higher and lower organizations in all localities and departments have been governed by the same principle; the local and lower organizations respect the leadership of the Central Committee and the higher organizations, and consequently our policies have in the main been successfully carried out throughout the Party.

But during this period another kind of deviation existed in the Party, namely, departmentalism. It often happened that there were Party cadres who liked to make their particular department a little world of their own. They liked to act at will on political questions, disliked the Party's direction and supervision, and did not respect the decisions of higher organizations and the Central Committee. They did not even ask for prior instruction from higher organizations and the Central Committee on important questions that required a uniform decision by the Central Committee, nor did they submit any report to them afterwards. In this way they acted contrary to Party policy and Party discipline and impaired the unity of the Party. The Central Committee has waged stern and continuous struggles against this kind of deviation. The *Decision to Strengthen the Party Spirit* (1941), the *Decision on the Unification of Leadership in the Anti-Japanese Bases* (1942), the *Directives for the Establishment of a System of Applying for Instruction and Rendering Reports and the Strengthening of Sense of Organization and Discipline* (1948), and the

Decision to Put the Party-Committee System on a Sound Footing (1948) — all these documents issued by the Central Committee were mainly designed to overcome this tendency to departmentalism. The Fourth Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee held in February 1954 dealt a smashing blow at the errors of departmentalism ideologically, politically and organizationally. Since then this deviation has survived only in certain isolated cases.

At present the main shortcoming in the relations between higher and lower Party organizations as a whole, is still that not enough attention has been paid to promoting the activity and creative ability of the lower organizations. Undue emphasis on centralization manifests itself not only in the economic, cultural and other administrative work of the state, but also in Party work. Too many rigid regulations are laid down by the higher organizations, and many of them are formulated without a careful study of the conditions and experiences of the lower organizations, with the result that the lower organizations encounter difficulties in trying to carry them out. Many higher organizations are not yet used to getting deep down among the rank and file, listening to the opinions of the lower organizations and the masses, and solving problems through consultation with the lower organizations. They are still prone to issue orders from their office sanctums, or to try to run the lower organizations themselves. Moreover, some leading functionaries at the higher levels like to put on airs and make a great show of authority. They are wont to lecture and criticize people, but are unwilling to seek advice or listen to criticism from the lower ranks, or make any self-criticism before those working under them. Such cases, though not prevalent, are by no means isolated. If we do not pay attention to this state of affairs and bring about a change, there can be no real democratic centralism in places where such a situation exists.

In the light of the various kinds of experience mentioned above, the draft Constitution makes the following additional provisions in regard to the relationship between higher and lower organizations under democratic centralism:

Firstly, with regard to the basic conditions of democratic centralism, the following provisions are added: "All leading bodies of the Party must pay constant heed to the views of their lower organizations and the rank-and-file Party members, study their experiences and give prompt help in solving their problems." "Lower Party organizations must present periodical reports on their work to the Party organizations above them and ask in good time for instructions on questions which need decision by higher Party organizations."

Secondly, concerning the functions and powers of the central and local organizations and of the higher and lower Party organizations, the following article is added: "The functions and powers of the central Party organizations and those of the local Party organizations shall be appropriately divided. All questions of a national character or questions that require a uniform decision for the whole country shall be handled by the central Party organizations so as to contribute to the centralism and unity of the Party. All questions of a local character or questions that need to be decided locally shall be handled by the local Party organizations so as to find solutions appropriate to the local conditions. The functions and powers of higher local Party organizations and those of lower Party organizations shall be appropriately divided according to the same principle."

Thirdly, with regard to discussions on questions of policy and the carrying out of decisions, the following article is added: "Before decisions on Party policy are made by the leading bodies of the Party, lower Party organizations and members of the Party committees may hold free and

practical discussions inside the Party organizations and at Party meetings and submit their proposals to the leading bodies of the Party. However, once a decision is taken by the leading bodies of the Party, it must be accepted. Should a lower Party organization find that a decision made by a higher Party organization does not suit the actual conditions in its locality or in its particular department, it should request the higher Party organization concerned to modify the decision. If the higher Party organization still upholds its decision, then the lower Party organization must carry it out unconditionally."

Another fundamental question with regard to democratic centralism in the Party is the question of collective leadership in Party organizations at all levels. Leninism demands of the Party that all important questions should be decided by an appropriate collective body, and not by any individual. The 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has thrown a searching light on the profound significance of adhering to the principle of collective leadership and combating the cult of the individual, and this illuminating lesson has produced a tremendous effect not only on the Communist Party of the Soviet Union but also on the Communist Parties of all other countries throughout the world. It is obvious that the making of decisions on important questions by individuals goes counter to the Party-building principles of the political parties dedicated to the cause of communism, and is bound to lead to errors. Only collective leadership, in close touch with the masses, conforms to the Party's principles of democratic centralism and can reduce the possibility of errors to the minimum.

It has become a long-established tradition in our Party to make decisions on important questions by a collective body of the Party, and not by any individual. Although violations of the principle of collective leadership have been frequent in our Party, yet once discovered, they have

been criticized and rectified by the Central Committee. In particular, the decision made by the Central Committee in September 1948 to put the Party-committee system on a sound footing, played a great role in strengthening collective leadership in the Party. I think it is still useful to refer to it here for the benefit of the whole Party. The decision reads:

"The Party-committee system is an important Party institution for ensuring collective leadership and preventing exclusive control by any individual. It has recently been found that the practice of exclusive control and the deciding of important matters by individuals prevails in some (though not, of course, in all) leading bodies. Decisions on important matters are not made at Party committee meetings, but by individuals. Committee membership thus becomes nominal. Questions in which committee members disagree cannot be settled, and the differences of opinion are allowed to remain unresolved for a long time. And whatever agreement does exist among the committee members is merely an agreement in form but not in fact.

"This state of affairs must be changed. Hereafter a sound system of Party committee meetings must be established in all Party organizations, from the bureaux of the Central Committee down to the regional committees, from the front committees down to the brigade committees, as well as in military area organizations (army sub-committees or leading groups), in leading Party members' groups in government agencies, people's organizations, news agencies and newspapers. All important matters (but not insignificant matters or matters that have already been discussed at meetings and only await execution) must be submitted to the committee and fully discussed by the members present, and clear-cut decisions should be made and then carried out by individuals and organs concerned severally. The same should be done by Party committees below regional and brigade levels. A system must also be

established of holding leading functionaries' meetings in the various departments (such as the propaganda department and the organization department), commissions (such as the Party commissions in charge of work among workers, women or youth), schools (such as Party schools) and offices (such as research offices) of the higher leading bodies.

"Of course we must see to it that the meetings do not take up too much time and be not too frequent, and that they are not bogged in discussions on minute matters, thus adversely affecting our work. Personal talks should be held before a meeting to discuss important problems which are complicated and over which opinions may differ, so that the committee members may think about them beforehand, that decisions made at the meeting may not remain on paper and that the meeting will not fail to reach any decision. Meetings of Party committees should be divided into standing committee meetings and plenary sessions, which should not be mixed up. Furthermore, it must be noted that no undue emphasis should be placed on either collective leadership or personal responsibility at the expense of the other. In the case of troops engaged in battle, or if circumstances require it, the commander or chief has the power to use his own discretion in an emergency."

This decision was carried out in the whole Party and it still holds good up to the present.

Of course the system of collective leadership had long been in existence before this decision was made. The significance of the decision lies in the fact that it summed up the Party's successful experiences in the thoroughgoing practice of collective leadership, that it urged those organizations whose collective leadership was only nominal to rectify their mistake, and that it extended the scope of the application of collective leadership.

As was pointed out in the decision, the system of collective leadership by Party committees, or to be more exact, the system of division of responsibility among the commanders and chiefs under the collective leadership of the Party committee, had long been practised in the Chinese People's Liberation Army. It was proved by long years of war-time experience in the Chinese People's Liberation Army that this system was beneficial to army work and by no means a hindrance to the direction of military operations. In the light of the experience gained over the last few years, the Central Committee has decided to carry out the system of collective leadership by Party committee in all enterprises as well, i.e., the system of the personal responsibility of the factory director or manager, under the collective leadership of the Party committee.

However, the application of the system of collective leadership in our Party still has many defects. In a small number of Party organizations some responsible comrades are still prone to exercise exclusive personal control. They seldom call the necessary regular meetings, or, on the occasions when they call meetings of Party organizations, they reduce such meetings to mere formality. They neither give the participants a chance to prepare themselves beforehand for the questions that are going to be decided on, nor create an atmosphere conducive to free discussion at the meeting; hence decisions are virtually imposed on the members. This practice of personal dictation under the guise of collective leadership must be resolutely opposed. All questions submitted to the meeting must be discussed and differences of opinion must be permitted. If in the course of discussion a serious difference of opinion arises, the discussion should be suitably prolonged and personal talks undertaken so as to seek real agreement among the great majority, provided this does not affect an urgent matter that needs to be settled immediately. In such cases, nothing should be put to the

vote in a hurry, nor should any conclusion be peremptorily drawn. Similarly, when an election takes place in a Party organization, necessary exchange of views and discussion should be carried out among the electors regarding the list of candidates put forward. Only thus can a democratic life within the Party be really ensured.

Another defect pointed out by the Central Committee in its decision of September 1948 is still found in many organizations. This defect is that too many meetings are held and the meetings go on for too long. This not only takes up time which the full-time Party workers ought to spend in getting into close contact with the masses and exercising practical leadership and thus encourages bureaucracy and red tape, but also affects the hours of work and leisure of many Party members and non-Party people. This defect is due to the lack of planning, preparation and leadership for meetings. It is also due to the misuse of meetings by bringing up a great many questions which do not need to be discussed at meetings. This defect should also be resolutely overcome.

One of the basic requirements of democratic centralism in the Party is that Party congresses at the various levels should be held at regular intervals, and should play their part to the full. More than eleven years elapsed between the Seventh and Eighth Party Congresses. The interval is of course much too long. As to local Party congresses and conferences at various levels, a few localities and units have kept strictly to the provisions of the Party Constitution, but the majority have held congresses and conferences less often than is stipulated in the Party Constitution. This is a serious defect in the democratic life of our Party.

Inner-Party democracy has not been seriously affected by the long and irregular intervals between Party congresses and conferences. This is because in the years since the Seventh Congress a great number of cadres' conferences

have been held by both the central and local organizations of the Party. These conferences, in which the Party's policies and various problems in work were discussed in a fully democratic spirit, have to a considerable extent played the role of Party conferences and even Party congresses. For example, since 1949 the Central Committee has called quite a number of conferences that were national in scope. They were the Second (Enlarged) Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee, March 5-13, 1949; the Third (Enlarged) Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee, June 6-9, 1950; the National Conference on Financial and Economic Work, June 13-August 11, 1953; the National Conference on Planned Purchasing and Marketing of Grain, October 10-12, 1953; the Fourth (Enlarged) Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee, February 6-10, 1954; the National Party Conference, March 21-31, 1955; the Conference of Secretaries of Provincial and Municipal Party Committees, July 31-August 1, 1955; the Sixth (Enlarged) Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee, October 4-11, 1955; the Conference on the Transformation of Capitalist Industry and Commerce, November 16-24, 1955; the Conference on the Question of Intellectuals, January 14-20, 1956; and the Conference of Secretaries of Provincial and Municipal Party Committees, April 25-28, 1956. In general, attendance at these conferences numbered from over a hundred or a few hundred to over a thousand. To all intents and purposes these conferences played the role of national conferences and solved important problems in Party policy and work through free and practical discussion. Nevertheless, the holding of these conferences cannot legally replace the holding of Party congresses, or make up for the defect of not holding Party congresses regularly.

For a complete elimination of this defect and a fuller development of democratic life in the Party, the Central Committee has decided to introduce a fundamental reform

in the draft Party Constitution. A fixed term is to be given the National Party Congress and the congresses at provincial and county levels, in a way similar to the people's congresses at various levels. It is laid down in the draft Party Constitution that the National Party Congress is to be elected for a term of five years; congresses at provincial level for three years; and congresses at county level for two years. The congresses at all the three levels are to be called in session once a year, and consequently, as a system, the original Party conferences at the various levels will no longer be necessary. The system of Party congresses with fixed terms will greatly reduce the burden of electing delegates. The congresses may be convened at any time during their term of office. And as the congresses will hold a session once a year, the occasion need not be an elaborate affair. The greatest merit of the system of fixed terms for the congresses lies in the fact that it will help the congresses — the Party's highest policy-making and supervisory organs — to operate in a most effective way; this is scarcely attainable under the existing system whereby congresses are held once in a number of years, with delegates elected afresh every time. Under the new system the Party's most important decisions can all be brought before the congresses for discussion. The Central Committee and the provincial and county committees must submit annual reports to their respective congresses, listen to their criticisms and answer their questions. And since the delegates are elected for a fixed term and are responsible to the bodies which have elected them, they will be in a better position to bring together regularly the views and experiences of the lower organizations, of rank-and-file Party members and of the masses of the people. In this way, they will attend the sessions with a more representative character, and during the interval when the congresses are not in session they can also exercise supervision in such forms as appropriate over the

work of the Party organs. For these reasons, we feel sure that this reform will help to greatly develop inner-Party democracy.

It must be emphasized that the Party is a militant organization. Without a centralized and unified command it would be impossible to win battles. *All the measures for* the development of inner-Party democracy are not meant to weaken the necessary centralization in the Party, but to supply it with a powerful and vigorous basis. This is perfectly clear to every one of us. Our purpose in proposing to improve the system of congresses at all levels is to make it easier for the Party committees to bring together the opinions of the broad masses and to work more correctly and more effectively. Our purpose in proposing to improve the working relationship between the central and the local, and between the higher and lower bodies is to enable the central and higher bodies to exercise their leadership more in keeping with actual conditions, to concentrate their attention on work that needs to be centralized and to strengthen their inspection and guidance of the work of the local organizations and the lower bodies. We do not advocate the strengthening of collective leadership in order to reduce the role of the individual. On the contrary, the role of the individual can only be correctly developed through the collective, while collective leadership must also be combined with individual responsibility. Without division of labour and individual responsibility we would not be able to carry out any complicated work and would find ourselves in a woeful predicament with no one responsible for any particular job of work. Whatever the organization, we need not only division of responsibility, but also somebody to assume overall responsibility. Aren't we all well aware that even a small group cannot function without a leader?

Here I should like to say a few words about the role of leader in the Party. While recognizing that history is

made by the people, Marxism never denies the role that outstanding individuals play in history; Marxism only points out that the individual role is, in the final analysis, dependent upon given social conditions. Likewise, Marxism never denies the role of leaders in political parties. In Lenin's famous words, the leaders are those who are "the most authoritative, influential and experienced." Undoubtedly, their authority, their influence and their experience are valuable assets to the Party, the class and the people. We Chinese Communists can fully appreciate this from our own experiences. Of course, such leaders emerge naturally from the midst of the mass struggles and cannot be self-appointed. Unlike the leaders of the exploiting classes in the past, the leaders of the working-class party stand not above the masses, but in their midst, not above the Party, but within it. Precisely because of this, they must set an example in maintaining close contact with the masses, in obeying the Party organizations and observing Party discipline. Love for the leader is essentially an expression of love for the interests of the Party, the class and the people, and not the deification of an individual. An important achievement of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union lies in the fact that it showed us what serious consequences can follow from the deification of the individual. Our Party has always held that no political parties and no individuals are free from flaws and mistakes in their activities, and this has now been written into the General Programme of the draft Constitution of our Party. For the same reason, our Party abhors the deification of the individual. At the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee held in March 1949 — that is, on the eve of nation-wide victory of the People's Revolution — the Central Committee, at the suggestion of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, made a decision prohibiting birthday celebrations for Party leaders, and the use of Party leaders' names

to designate places, streets and enterprises. This has had a wholesome effect in checking the glorification and exaltation of individuals. The Central Committee has always been against sending to the leaders messages of greetings or telegrams reporting successes in work. Likewise, it has been against exaggerating the role of leaders in works of art and literature. Of course the cult of the individual is a social phenomenon with a long history, and it cannot but find certain reflections in our Party and public life. It is our task to continue to observe faithfully the Central Committee's *principle of opposition to the elevation and glorification of the individual*, and to achieve a real consolidation of the ties between the leaders and the masses so that the Party's democratic principle and mass line will be carried out to the full in every field.

IV

Part of the General Programme of the draft Constitution dwells on the solidarity and unity of the Party. Solidarity and unity are one of the most important questions in the building up of the Party. As the General Programme points out, "Solidarity and unity are the very life of the Party, the source of its strength. It is the sacred duty of every Party member to pay constant attention to the safeguarding of the solidarity of the Party and the consolidation of its unity."

What was the reason for the success of the People's Revolution led by our Party? First of all, of course, it is because our Party had a correct policy which represented the interests of the people. But with a correct policy alone, we could not have defeated the powerful enemy and won victory. Our Party also kept in close touch with the people and, further, rallied them into a united force. But if

our Party itself had not been united, how could it have rallied the people?

Again, after the victory of the People's Revolution in our country, on what did we depend in order to overcome tremendous difficulties and obstacles, rapidly achieve the unity of the nation, quickly rehabilitate and develop our national economy, embark on the socialist transformation of our national economy and complete it in the main? Beyond all doubt, we could not have led the people and accomplished these complicated tasks in such a short period if there had been no unity in our Party.

Our Party has now assumed the leading role in all fields of state affairs and public activities. It is obvious that our Party in its present condition is exercising a more direct and extensive influence on the national life than ever before. It is for the benefit not only of the Party but also of the entire people that we should safeguard the solidarity of the Party and strengthen its unity.

The Party is the highest form of class organization. It is particularly important to point this out today when our Party has assumed the leading role in state affairs. Of course this does not mean that the Party should be directly in command regarding the work of state organs, or discuss at Party meetings questions of a purely administrative nature and overstep the line of demarcation between Party work and the work of state organs. It means, first, that Party members in state organs and particularly the leading Party members' groups formed by those in responsible positions in such departments should follow the unified leadership of the Party. Secondly, the Party must regularly discuss and decide on questions with regard to the guiding principles, policies and important organizational matters in state affairs, and the leading Party members' groups in the state organs must see to it that these decisions are put into effect with the harmonious co-operation of non-Party personalities. Thirdly, the Party must

conscientiously and systematically look into the problems and work of the state organs so as to be able to put forward correct, practical and specific proposals or revise them in time in the light of actual practice, and must exercise constant supervision over the work of state organs. Some comrades working in government departments do not respect the leadership of the Party on the pretext that their work is of an exceptional nature, and attempt to turn their own departments into "independent kingdoms." This is a dangerous tendency which must be overcome. At the same time, some Party organizations incorrectly interfere with the administrative work of state organs, while others, without investigation and study, are content to offer a vague, generalized kind of leadership or a leadership based on imagination. This is another tendency which must be overcome.

The points I have mentioned about the relationship between the Party and the state organs in their work also apply in general to the relationship between the Party and the various people's organizations. But as democracy in these organizations is much broader than that in state organs, the Party should take this special feature into consideration when exercising leadership over the leading Party members' groups in these organizations.

In order to strengthen the unity and solidarity within its own ranks, in order to play its role as leader and nucleus to the fullest possible extent, the Party has waged uncompromising struggles against all sorts of deviations in this respect. The long-term existence of the Party in widely-scattered rural areas; the strong influence that feudal, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideas and styles of work still have in our society; and the deepening of class struggle at a certain period of the socialist revolution — all these factors cannot but find reflection in the life of the Party. Therefore, the solidarity and unity of the Party are inseparable from inner-Party struggles of varying degrees.

As we all know, the most serious inner-Party struggle that took place in the interval between the Seventh and Eighth Congresses was the fight against the anti-Party bloc of Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih. At the National Party Conference held in March 1955, a detailed report on this struggle was given and was followed by discussion.

The basic characteristic of this anti-Party bloc was the fact that it attempted to seize the supreme power of the Party and the state through utterly unprincipled conspiratorial activities on an extensive scale. This bloc attempted to maintain exclusive control over certain areas and departments and use them as its "capital" to oppose the Central Committee and usurp its authority; with this purpose in view, it carried on agitation in various areas and in the People's Liberation Army against the Central Committee. These conspiratorial activities were utterly against the interests of the Party and the people, and could only benefit the enemies of the Chinese people. For this reason the National Party Conference held in March 1955 unanimously endorsed the measures taken in this connection by the Fourth Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee held in February 1954 and by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee following the session.

Since the Fourth Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Party and the National Party Conference, the Party's solidarity and unity have been immensely strengthened, and the political understanding of all Party members and the fighting capacity of the Party organization have greatly increased. The enemies of the Party and the people gained nothing from this struggle.

The Central Committee decided to expel Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih from the Party, because their conduct gravely imperilled the interests of the Party and the people and they showed no signs of repenting of their activities and mending their ways in spite of the repeated warnings given by the Party over a long period before and after the

Fourth Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee. At the National Conference on Financial and Economic Work in the summer of 1953 and, again, at the National Conference on Organizational Work in September and October of the same year, the Central Committee especially called upon all Party members to strengthen Party solidarity and oppose any acts which might endanger it. But these conspirators, bent on carrying out their intrigues to split the Party and seize power, turned a deaf ear to these warnings.

The resolution of the Fourth Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee states: "With regard to those who take their stand against the Party, refuse stubbornly to correct their errors, or even carry on sectarian, disruptive or other pernicious activities within the Party," the Party "must conduct relentless struggles and subject them to severe disciplinary measures or even expel them from the Party when necessary; for only by so doing can unity in the Party be maintained and the interests of the revolution and the people defended."

But this is only one side of the Party's policy towards Party members who have committed mistakes. The same resolution points out: "Every comrade may have shortcomings and commit mistakes, every comrade needs other people's help, and the purpose of Party unity is precisely to develop this kind of comradely mutual help. In dealing with the shortcomings or errors of Party members, the policy adopted should vary according to circumstances." The resolution adds: "As for comrades whose shortcomings or errors are comparatively unimportant, or those who, though their shortcomings or errors are serious or comparatively serious, can still, after being helped by criticism, place the interests of the Party above their own and are willing to mend their ways and actually do so, the principle of 'curing the illness in order to save the patient' should be adopted towards them. Serious criticisms must

be made and the necessary struggles waged against their shortcomings or errors according to the circumstances, but such criticism and struggle should start out from unity, and aim to reach unity through criticism and struggle. The comrades concerned should not be deprived of the chance to do better. Moreover, their isolated, partial, temporary, relatively unimportant shortcomings or errors should not be deliberately exaggerated into systematic, serious ones; this is not starting out from unity, and the aim of unity cannot be attained in this way. Therefore, it is not in the interests of the Party."

The above-mentioned principles for dealing with the mistakes of Party members, as set forth in the resolution of the Fourth Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee, have now been written into the General Programme of the draft Constitution.

As we all know, since 1935 the Central Committee, in dealing with Party members who have committed mistakes, has always acted upon the principle of treating each case on its own merits. Practice has shown that it is correct to adhere to this principle, that the unity of the Party benefits from it and the Party's cause prospers. The Central Committee believes that in ordinary circumstances the aim of correcting the mistakes of Party members is to draw lessons, to improve the work and to educate all Party members; in other words, to "learn from past experience in order to avoid similar mistakes in the future," and "cure the illness in order to save the patient." The aim is not to take such members to task so severely as to make it impossible for them to continue to work in the Party. Therefore, in dealing with such members, emphasis should be laid on a factual analysis of the root and essence of their errors, on how to raise their ideological level and on how to draw the correct lesson for other comrades and the whole Party. Emphasis must not be laid on the disciplinary action taken by the Party organization, nor must

solutions of the problem be sought through "putting labels" on the offender or simply resorting to punishment. Unduly severe or widespread punishment is especially to be avoided, for it would create tension and cause fear in the Party, and this is detrimental to the Party's strength. In the period when our Party was dominated by "Leftist" opportunists, errors were committed by pushing inner-Party struggle to the extreme. A policy of excessively harsh struggle and of wanton punishment (the so-called "ruthless struggle" and "merciless blow") was carried on within the Party. As a result, Party unity, inner-Party democracy and the initiative of the rank-and-file Party membership all suffered severe damage and the advance of the Party's cause was seriously hindered. Now, although such wrong treatment of comrades' shortcomings and mistakes is no longer a dominant feature in Party life, it still exists in some organizations, and attention must be paid to rectifying it.

On the other hand, there exists in the Party another kind of tendency which also deserves attention. This is to be over-tolerant and over-indulgent towards comrades who have committed mistakes without giving them the punishment they deserve or waging any ideological struggle against them. This is a tendency towards liberalism, which must also be resolutely opposed.

In order to maintain Party solidarity and unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, to help comrades overcome their shortcomings and correct mistakes in time, it is necessary to greatly intensify criticism and self-criticism within the Party. To encourage and support criticism from below and to prohibit the suppression of criticism are of decisive importance for the development of criticism in the Party. In the past few years, the Central Committee has several times organized Party-wide campaigns of criticism and self-criticism in the form of "Rectification Campaigns," which have yielded remarkably good results. When call-

ing lower-rank comrades to meetings or in talking to them, leading comrades of the Central Committee have of their own accord asked them to criticize the Central Committee's work, listened patiently to their criticisms, and promptly taken necessary and practical measures to correct the shortcomings and mistakes pointed out, with the result that inner-Party criticism from below has been greatly encouraged. The Central Committee has carried out a sharp struggle against the suppression of criticism and applied disciplinary measures to some leading personnel who arbitrarily stifled criticism from below. But it must be admitted that even now not a few responsible comrades in Party organizations, and not a few Party members who hold responsible positions in government departments and people's organizations still do not encourage and support criticism from below. Some of them even use the shameful method of making personal attacks and carrying out reprisals against their critics. This is also one of the grave signs that the germs of bureaucracy are attacking our Party. Every true Communist must fight to root out this evil.

V

Now I should like to say a few words of explanation about the provisions in the draft Constitution regarding Party membership. In this regard a number of important changes have been made in the draft Party Constitution as compared with the Constitution adopted at the Seventh Congress. This is because the conditions of the Party and its members now are quite different from what they were at the time of the Seventh Congress. These revisions make higher demands on the members and at the same time extend their rights.

The most significant change about the Party is that it is now in the position of leadership throughout the country. The Party's programme for a democratic revolution has been carried out in most parts of the country, and its programme for a socialist revolution has in the main been successfully carried out. The present task of the Party is to complete the socialist revolution and bring about, in not too long a period, the socialist industrialization of the country, building China into a mighty socialist industrial country. Organizationally, the composition of the Party has changed both in numerical strength and in the social status of its members. According to figures provided by the Organizational Department of the Central Committee, at the end of June 1956, the Party had a total membership of 10,734,384, which is 1.74 per cent of the total population. Of this, 1,502,814, or 14 per cent of the total membership, are workers; 7,417,459, or 69.1 per cent, are peasants; 1,255,923, or 11.7 per cent, are intellectuals; 558,188, or 5.2 per cent, are of other social status. Women constitute about 10 per cent of the total membership.

The triumph of the Party's cause, the increasing weight of its responsibility towards the people, and the rise of its prestige among the masses — all this demands that our Party should set higher standards for its members. Moreover, in the past a person's decision to join our Party generally meant that he was prepared to struggle, at the risk of his personal freedom and even his very life, for the interests of the masses and for the supreme ideal of human society. Nowadays, however, it is more likely to find people who have joined the Party for the sake of prestige and position and who do not safeguard the interests of the masses, but harm them instead. To be sure, such people are rather rare in our Party, but we cannot overlook the fact that they do exist. The struggle to raise the standards of the Party membership is one of the Party's important political tasks for the present.

With this end in view, new provisions are made in the draft Constitution regarding the qualifications for Party membership.

In the first place, the draft demands that Party members must be people who work and do not exploit the labour of others. In our day everything that brings honour is the result of labour, and to exploit the labour of others instead of working oneself is a deep disgrace in the eyes of the people. With the development of socialist transformation, exploitation and living on the fruits of other people's labour are dying out in our country. However, in present-day Chinese society there are still exploiters, overt and covert practices of exploitation, and ideas of the exploiting class. We must not allow such people, practices, and ideas to find their way into the ranks of the Party, and we must see to it that every Party member draws a clear line between labour and exploitation.

Concerning the duties of Party members, there is much that is new in the provisions in the draft Constitution as compared with the relevant articles of the existing Constitution.

In the draft Party Constitution, it is laid down as the duty of Party members "to safeguard the Party's solidarity and consolidate its unity." The reason for such a provision is obvious. Solidarity and unity are the very life of the Party, and it is unthinkable that the Party should have any need for members who do not care for its life.

It is provided in the draft that Party members must energetically fulfil the tasks assigned them by the Party, because this is the concrete guarantee for the carrying out of Party policy and decisions.

The draft Party Constitution requires every Party member to strictly observe the Party Constitution and the laws of the state and behave in accordance with communist ethics, no exception being made for any Party member, whatever his services or position. Here, the Central Com-

mittee considers it of special significance today to stipulate very clearly that no Party member, whatever his services *or position, is allowed any special privilege to act against* the Party Constitution, the laws of the state, or communist ethics. Some Party members who have rendered meritorious service and hold responsible positions have the idea that it is their prerogative to act as they please, discipline or no discipline. There are even Party organizations which have given tacit consent to this view. In actual fact, anyone who entertains or supports this view is helping the enemy to corrode our Party. People who conduct themselves like "overlords" all tend to think that they are indispensable to the Party. The fact, however, is quite the contrary. Our Party, far from having any use for such persons, definitely does not permit the presence in its ranks *of any "overlords" who in the matter* of fulfilling the duties of Party members may act in a way different from ordinary members. Respect is due to service and position only if the person possessing such standing and record does not get conceited about them or consider them as something entitling him to special privileges, but, on the contrary, becomes ever more modest, prudent and conscious of his responsibility to set a good example. If he does not do this *his conceit and insolence will be the ruin of him.* The Party will never tolerate such people at the risk of isolating itself from the broad masses.

The draft Party Constitution stipulates that it is the duty of every Party member to practise criticism and self-criticism, expose shortcomings and mistakes in work and strive to overcome and correct them; and that it is his duty to report such shortcomings and mistakes to the leading Party bodies, up to and including the Central Committee. Without doubt this provision in the draft will help to stimulate the political activity of all Party members, promote inner-Party criticism and facilitate the exposure and elimination of shortcomings and mistakes in Party work.

The draft Party Constitution provides that Party members should be truthful and honest with the Party and not conceal or distort the truth. This is a principle of great significance in Party life. To proceed from reality and seek the truth through facts is our fundamental viewpoint as materialists. Any concealment of the truth from the Party, or distortion of the truth can only harm the Party. And in the end, too, it can only harm the very people who conceal facts from the Party or distort them.

The draft Constitution also requires Party members to be constantly on the alert against the intrigues of the enemy, and to guard the secrets of the Party and the state.

All these new provisions concerning the duties of Party members indicate that the Party is making more exacting demands on its members than in the past.

An extensive and thorough education in the duties of Party members needs to be conducted among the membership and among activists who want to join the Party. When a Party member fails to fulfil his duties, the Party organization should promptly criticize him and teach him to do better. Many Party members, especially new members, have failed in their duties because they do not really know what their duties are, or because, although they have read the relevant articles in the Party Constitution, they do not understand them thoroughly. Therefore, when a Party member fails in his duties for the first time, timely criticism and education is often sufficient to help him avoid making similar or bigger mistakes in future. In cases of this kind, it is incorrect to rashly take disciplinary measures.

Education by itself, however, will not ensure that all Party members strictly observe their duties. The draft Party Constitution provides that any serious infraction of these duties, splitting of Party unity, breaking of the laws of the state, violation of Party decisions, damaging Party interests, or deception towards the Party constitutes a viola-

tion of Party discipline, and disciplinary action shall be taken against it.

Every applicant for Party membership must undergo the procedure of admission individually. The draft Constitution stipulates that an applicant must be recommended by two full Party members, and is admitted as a probationary member after being accepted by the general membership meeting of a Party branch and approved by the next higher Party committee, and he may become a full Party member only after the completion of a probationary period of a year.

In the draft the term "probationary period" has been adopted in place of "candidature" which has long been employed, and the term "probationary member" in place of "candidate member." This is because the term probationary is more accurate in meaning. The change was suggested by a non-Party personality and we have accepted the suggestion.

During the discussion on the draft, many comrades raised the question: "If it is our purpose to raise the standards of the Party membership, why have we discarded the original provisions about different procedures of admission for applicants of different social status? Might not this affect the purity of the Party?"

The distinction that was hitherto made in the procedure of admitting new members has been removed because the former classification of social status has lost or is losing its original meaning. Both before the Seventh Congress and for a considerable period afterwards it was essential to have different procedures of admission for applicants of different social status and this served a very good purpose. But in recent years the situation has basically changed. The difference between workers and office employees is now only a matter of division of labour within the same class. Casual labourers and farm labourers have disappeared. Poor and middle peasants have all become mem-

bers of agricultural producers' co-operatives, and before long the distinction between them will become merely a thing of historical interest. With the introduction of obligatory military service, revolutionary soldiers no longer constitute an independent social stratum. The vast majority of our intellectuals have now come over politically to the side of the working class, and there is a rapid change in their family background. The conditions in which the city poor and the professional people used to exist as independent social strata have been virtually eliminated. Every year, large numbers of peasants and students become workers, large numbers of workers, peasants and their sons and daughters join the ranks of the intellectuals and office-workers, large numbers of peasants, students, workers and office-workers join the army and become revolutionary soldiers, while large numbers of revolutionary soldiers return to civilian life as peasants, students, workers or office-workers. What is the point, then, of classifying these social strata into two different categories? And even if we were to try and devise a classification, how could we make it neat and clear-cut?

It has already been stated that only those who work and do not exploit the labour of others, and only those who are fully qualified to be Party members, can be admitted to the Party. Therefore, the question of different procedures of admission for applicants of different social status has ceased to exist.

Practice has shown that what we should chiefly do in order to purify the ranks of the Party is as follows: strengthen supervision over the work of recruiting new members; see to it that the general membership meeting of the Party branch and the Party committee of the next higher level check up carefully on applicants for admission and on probationary members at the end of their probationary period; subject probationary members to careful observation and give them education during their probationary

period; give timely education to Party members who are not fully up to the standard, and expel whatever bad elements who have wormed themselves into the Party. Purity does not depend on the number of Party members required for recommending different types of applicants, the length of Party standing of such members or the length of the probationary period of the applicants.

The present membership of our Party is nine times what it was at the time of the Seventh Congress. How were these new members admitted into the Party? Are they really qualified for Party membership? Judging from the results of the Party rectification campaigns of the past years, the overwhelming majority of them were admitted according to the procedure laid down in the Party Constitution and are qualified for Party membership. On the whole, the Party organizations have grown up in the course of mass revolutionary struggles, and the very fact that those who were admitted were people active among the masses and tested in struggle forms the chief guarantee for the quality of the Party membership. But mistakes were made on many occasions in the matter of admitting new members. During the War of Liberation, new members were recruited in the rural districts of some liberated areas by means of so-called "Campaigns to Join the Party," or through a process of so-called "self-recommendation, public discussion, and approval by the Party organization." In the two years just before and after liberation of the whole country, the membership of the Party grew with undue speed, and in certain areas it grew practically without guidance and without plan, while Party organizations in some areas even went about recruiting new members in large numbers and setting up Party branches before the masses were aroused. The result was that certain Party organizations were at one time impure to a high degree. On the other hand, the mistake of "closed-door" sectarianism was also committed in admitting new members. For instance, at one time the

Party failed to attach importance to recruiting new members from among industrial workers; at another time it neglected to recruit new members from among revolutionary intellectuals; in certain rural districts, the Party organizations neglected to recruit the more active youths and women.

Nevertheless, it is an obvious fact that 90 per cent of the present 10,730,000 members have joined our Party since the Seventh Congress. Experience has shown time and again that many members, although they have joined the Party organizationally, have not joined ideologically or at least not fully joined ideologically. It is, therefore, the task of the Party organizations at all levels to be conscientious about educating the vast numbers of new members more effectively, to take practical measures to organize and guide their study of Marxism-Leninism, Comrade Mao Tse-tung's writings and the history and policy of our Party and to strengthen their education in proletarian internationalism, so as to raise the level of their understanding and enable them to become really qualified ideologically as Party members.

The ranks of the Party have expanded rapidly. But the number of Party members is still very small among certain sections of the people, in certain enterprises, offices and educational institutions, in certain villages and among certain nationalities. At the same time more and more activists are coming to the fore and asking to join our fighting ranks. Therefore, apart from trying to improve the quality of the membership, the Party must, in the period to come, continue in a planned way to admit those who apply for membership and are fully qualified for it. The Party should also strengthen its work among women and pay special attention to recruiting the advanced ones among them.

While striving to raise the standards of the members, the Party must pay attention to the protection and extension

of their democratic rights. The draft Constitution contains some new provisions of great importance concerning the rights of members.

It is laid down in the draft Party Constitution that Party members enjoy the right of giving full play to their creative ability in work. This is of significance as a principle. It will greatly stimulate vast numbers of Party members to endeavour, so far as is compatible with Party discipline, to bring together the wisdom of the masses, to think independently and to solve problems in a practical and creative way. Moreover, it will also bring about a change in the working style of those leading personnel who have got into a groove and disregard the creative ability of the rank-and-file Party members, and this, too, will help inner-Party democracy to flourish.

The draft provides that Party members enjoy the right to ask to attend in person when a Party organization decides to take disciplinary action against them or make an appraisal of their character and work. This means that the Party organization will have the opportunity to listen to the member's own statement so that no decision will be made on the basis of an incorrect or one-sided report. This procedure has already been generally adopted in the Party, but there are certain Party organizations which have not put it into effect. Without any reason whatsoever, they often failed to inform members of the disciplinary measures to be taken against them until the decision had already been made. Of course, there are special cases in which it is impossible for the Party member concerned to attend in person when such decision is made by a Party organization. Such cases, however, should be regarded as the exception rather than the rule. And even in such cases, the member concerned still has the right to ask beforehand to attend in person and the right to appeal afterwards if he disagrees with the decision made by the Party organization.

The draft Party Constitution provides that Party members enjoy the right to reserve their opinions or submit them to a leading body of the Party, in case they disagree with any Party decision, which, in the meanwhile, they must carry out unconditionally. We all know that the Party is an organization based on ideological unity and that the ideological unity of the membership is the foundation of the solidarity and unity of the Party. But this does not mean that no Party member should hold different opinions about Party decisions. No, this is impossible. The unity that the Party demands is an ideological unity on all questions concerning the Party's basic principles and unity of action on all practical issues. On matters of day-to-day work, it is permissible, and even unavoidable, that there should be different views among the Party members to some extent. In order to get various practical problems solved, the Party must act according to the principle that individual Party members obey the Party organization, the minority obey the majority, the lower Party organizations obey higher Party organizations, and all constituent Party organizations throughout the country obey the Central Committee. In this connection, it is completely correct and necessary for the Party to demand that those members who hold different views should unconditionally carry out Party decisions in their actions. Even so, the Party members concerned still have the right to reserve their own opinions and, moreover, the right to submit them to the Party organizations to which they belong and to higher bodies, while the Party organizations should not compel them to give up their opinions by force of discipline. Far from harming the Party these provisions can have a good effect. Provided that the Party's decisions are correct and the Party members who hold different opinions are willing to bow before the truth, these members will eventually be glad to acknowledge the correctness of the Party and admit their own mistakes. If, on

the other hand, truth eventually turns out to be on the side of the minority, then the protection of the right of the minority will help the Party to know the truth.

In comparison with the corresponding articles in the existing Constitution, the draft Party Constitution makes fuller provisions with regard to the right of members to participate in free and practical discussion at Party meetings or in the Party press on theoretical and practical questions relating to Party policy; their right to criticize any Party organization or any functionary at Party meetings; and their right to address any statement, appeal or complaint to any Party organization, up to and including the Central Committee.

The draft stipulates that infringement of the rights of Party members constitutes a violation of Party discipline, and disciplinary action shall be taken against it. This is an effective guarantee for the rights of Party members.

With regard to commendation and disciplinary measures in the Party, the draft Constitution contains the following important changes: first, the former provisions regarding commendation have been taken out; secondly, the provisions concerning disciplinary measures applicable to entire Party organizations have also been taken out; and thirdly, the provisions concerning disciplinary measures applicable to Party members have been simplified.

Everyday reality has proved that it is not appropriate to regard "admonition" as a disciplinary measure, and that there are inconveniences in dividing warning into two kinds — private and public. It is entirely feasible to replace provisions regarding disciplinary measures against an entire Party organization with those regarding disciplinary measures against individual members.

Some comrades ask: "Why have the provisions for commendation been left out?" Here again we have learned from the reality of everyday life. Although provisions regarding commendation were made in the Party Constitu-

tion adopted by the Seventh Congress, experience of the past eleven years has proved them to be unnecessary. Certainly this does not mean that the Party has taken no notice of the excellent work done by many of its finest members; it has publicized their achievements and experience, and promoted them to important posts according to their personal qualities and abilities. This is the commendation the Party has given to these members. But there is a more important reason for removing the provisions about commendation. Fundamentally speaking, we Communists do not work in order to be commended. We work for the good of the people. When we have worked energetically and correctly and consequently won the confidence of the people, this is, for Communist Party members, the highest reward possible.

Here I feel it necessary to speak about the question of Party cadres. Truly, if we make strict demands on every rank-and-file Party member, we need to make still more strict demands on the Party cadres. Since the key functionaries in the Party organizations at all levels enjoy greater confidence from the Party and the people, then obviously they have a greater responsibility to the Party and the people than the rank-and-file members. According to a rough estimate, there are altogether over 300,000 Party cadres above the rank of county Party committee members. The quality of the work of these 300,000-odd people is of decisive significance to the cause of the Party. These cadres more than others should learn never to become separated from the masses, never to feel self-complacent, never to be afraid of difficulties, and always to be ready to accept criticism from below, to ceaselessly improve their work, and to patiently educate those who are working under their leadership through their personal example.

It would be superfluous to explain the fact that since the Seventh Congress, especially since 1949, there has been a

great increase in the number of Party cadres. Nevertheless, there is a universal feeling that there are not enough of them. This shows that there are serious defects in the selection and promotion of cadres. The chief of these is that even today in selecting cadres many comrades still take "seniority" as the criterion. Older Party members with a rich store of experience are undoubtedly a valuable asset to the Party. But we should be committing a very serious mistake if we set store by this asset to the exclusion of everything else, because our revolutionary work is developing all the time and the number of cadres required is constantly increasing, while the number of old Party members is necessarily on the decrease. This being so, if we do not resolutely and confidently employ carefully-selected new cadres, what other outcome can there be except harm to the cause of the Party and the people?

In order to keep up with the rapid development of the cause of the Party and the people, one of the important tasks the Party has is to train and promote large numbers of new cadres and help them to familiarize themselves with their work and build a comradely relationship with the older cadres, a relationship of unity and solidarity and of learning from one another. The Party must pay particular attention to the training of cadres to master production technique and various branches of professional knowledge, because cadres with such qualifications are the basic force for the building of socialism. In all localities our Party must train native cadres who are familiar with local conditions and have close ties with the local people. In national minority areas the Party must do its utmost to train cadres belonging to the nationalities there. Our Party must be very firmly resolved to train and promote women cadres and help and encourage them to advance unceasingly, since women form one of the greatest reservoirs of Party cadres.

In the Party's work of administering cadres, an important improvement in the last few years has been the division of administration according to rank and department so as to co-ordinate it with the work of political and professional inspection and supervision. The Party should strive to improve its administrative work further in this direction, so that the cadres at all posts and in all departments will be under the careful supervision of the Party and receive concrete help from it, and the quality of cadres themselves will thus be constantly raised. This is also an essential prerequisite for steadily raising the quality of all Party members.

VI

With regard to the organizational structure of the Party, the draft Party Constitution, besides giving the Party congresses from county level upwards a fixed term of office, and abolishing the Party conferences which were provided for at all levels under the existing Constitution, contains a number of other new provisions: namely, those concerning the central organizations, local organizations, primary organizations, control organs, and the Party's relationship with the Communist Youth League. In connection with these provisions, only a few brief explanations are needed.

In the section dealing with the central organizations, the draft provides that the Central Committee, which elects the Political Bureau, shall also elect the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau, which shall take over the role formerly fulfilled by the Secretariat, a role which proved both necessary and expedient in the long experience of our Party. The Central Committee will also elect the Secretariat, which in future will attend to the daily work of the Central Committee under the direction of the Political Bureau and its Standing Committee. Owing to

the pressure of Party and government work, the existing central organs have proved inadequate. Hence the Central Committee finds it essential to set up additional central organs. The Central Committee further finds it necessary to have a number of vice-chairmen and a general secretary; the chairman and vice-chairmen of the Central Committee will concurrently be the chairman and vice-chairmen of the Political Bureau.

In the section dealing with local Party organizations, the draft sets forth the system for the Party organizations of the province, autonomous region, municipality directly under the central authority, autonomous *chou*, county, autonomous county and municipality. In view of the increasingly complicated nature of the work of the leading bodies of the local Party organizations, the draft provides that a standing committee and a secretariat shall be set up under the Party committee of each of these organizations. In order to reduce the number of organizational levels, the draft provides that regional committees shall, within the limits of their respective regions, act as the representative bodies of provincial or autonomous region committees, and the district committees shall likewise act as the representative bodies of the Party committees for municipalities directly under the central authority or of the municipal, county or autonomous county committees. As a matter of fact, in certain provinces some of the regional committees and district committees in rural areas have already been abolished.

As the membership of the primary Party organizations ranges from a minimum of three to a grand total of almost ten thousand, it is necessary to allow the greatest flexibility in their organizational form. The draft divides the primary Party organizations into three categories. The first category comprises primary organizations with one hundred or more Party members, which may set up primary Party committees, each with a number of general

branches or branches under them. The second category comprises primary organizations with fifty or more members, which may set up general branch committees, each with a number of branches under them. The third category comprises primary organizations with less than fifty members, which may set up branch committees. In addition, the draft contains certain other provisions conducive to flexibility. In the course of implementation cases may still occur for which none of the above-mentioned three forms will be found entirely suitable, and in such circumstances the competent Party committees can regard these as special cases and deal with them flexibly as they see fit.

In regard to the tasks of the primary organizations, fairly comprehensive provisions are made to suit present conditions. The draft stipulates that primary Party organizations in enterprises, villages, schools and army units must guide and supervise the work of the administrative bodies and mass organizations in their respective units. The draft points out that primary Party organizations in public institutions and organizations should watch over the ideology of all Party members in the said institutions and organizations, and that they should report without delay any shortcomings in the work to the administrative chiefs of the given units and to higher Party organizations. Up to now, however, many primary Party organizations have failed to carry out these tasks.

Inasmuch as primary organizations form the basic links between the Party and the broad masses, it is an important political task of the Party's leading bodies to constantly check on and improve the work of the primary organizations. But in both urban and rural areas there are leading bodies which often busy themselves assigning one task after another to the primary organizations, but seldom check up on how these organizations are conducting their work or give any concrete help, ideological or otherwise,

to the members of the primary organizations. All Party committees that are directly responsible for leading the primary organizations should, in accordance with the Constitution, carry out extensive education among the latter organizations, and at the same time draw the necessary conclusions on the ways to improve their leadership over the primary organizations.

To set up and strengthen the control organs of the Party at different levels is a matter of great importance for the struggle against unhealthy tendencies within the Party. Although it was only after the National Party Conference in March 1955 that the Central Control Commission and the control commissions at lower levels began to be set up on the basis of the former discipline inspection committees, the work of these control commissions has served a good purpose. The draft defines the tasks of the control organs and the relationship between higher and lower control commissions. The control commissions should not confine themselves to dealing with individual cases as they arise, but should work actively to find out how the Party Constitution, Party discipline, communist ethics and state laws and decrees are being observed by Party members. To this end, the Party committees at different levels must ensure that the control commissions are adequately staffed, and must give them constant and vigorous support.

The whole history of the Communist Youth League shows that the League is the Party's reliable reserve force as well as its capable assistant. When the League organization was restored in 1949, it was known by the name of the China New Democratic Youth League. Since then the membership of the League has grown to 20,000,000, and its lively activities can be seen on all fronts. In view of the progress of socialist transformation in our country and the spread of communist education among the youth of China, the Central Committee of the Youth League has decided to suggest to the forthcoming national congress

of the League that it be renamed the Communist Youth League of China. The Central Committee of the Party believes that this decision is correct. The draft Party Constitution sets forth the relationship between the Party and the Youth League. It requires Party organizations at all levels to take a deep interest in the League's ideological and organizational work, to give guidance to the League in imbuing all its members with communist spirit and educating them in Marxist-Leninist theory, to see to it that close contact is maintained between the League and the broad masses of young people and pay constant attention to selecting members for the leading core in the League. The youth represent our future: it is they who will carry on all our undertakings. We therefore believe that Party organizations at all levels will spare no effort nor energy in carrying out these tasks.

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In the foregoing, I have made some necessary explanations about the draft Party Constitution put forward by the Central Committee. The Central Committee holds that it is adapted to our Party's present conditions and tasks.

The Central Committee believes that the draft Party Constitution, after being discussed and adopted by the Eighth National Party Congress, will become a powerful instrument by means of which we shall further raise the quality of the Party, broaden the scope of inner-Party democracy, bring into full play the political activity of the Party membership, improve the Party's organizational work, and strengthen its solidarity and unity and its fighting capacity.

As I have said above, the draft Party Constitution does not differ in fundamental principle from the Constitution adopted by the Seventh Congress. And it must be added that the fundamental spirit of the draft Constitution is

precisely a logical development of the various principles laid down by the Seventh Congress to govern the Party's work. Thoroughgoing discussion and correct decisions were made at the Seventh Congress on such issues as the Party's mass line, democratic centralism, the solidarity and unity of the Party, the raising of the standards of the Party membership and the protection of the members' rights. Thanks to this, our Party has since the Seventh Congress been full of vigour and has become ever more flourishing in its organizational work just as in its political struggles. The Party's organizational work has ensured the successful fulfilment of its political tasks. In the eleven years between the Seventh and Eighth Congresses, our Party's organizational strength has grown rapidly, its ties with the masses have been greatly extended and strengthened, inner-Party life has become increasingly active, the Party's ranks have become more closely united than at any period in the past, and, consequently, the achievements won in the Party's cause have also been greater than at any period in the past.

In our work we have committed mistakes and met with dangers, and there are still shortcomings and difficulties to be overcome. But none of these has caused, or ever will cause, panic in our Party. On the contrary, our Party always has boundless self-confidence and courage to correct mistakes, overcome dangers, remove shortcomings, and surmount difficulties, so as to strive for fresh and greater victories.

Our Party owes its victories, first and foremost, to the people's trust and support as well as to the persevering efforts of the whole Party membership. We shall cherish with everlasting gratitude the memory of the martyrs who laid down their lives for the cause of the Party.

Our Party also owes its victories to the leading personnel of the Party organizations at all levels, particularly to the leader of our Party, Comrade Mao Tse-tung.

Now our Party is confronted with new and difficult tasks. We must carry through the great task of socialist transformation, fulfil ahead of the schedule and overfulfil the First Five-Year Plan for development of our national economy, and actively prepare to carry out the Second Five-Year Plan, so as to bring about a great advance in our industry, agriculture, communications, transport and commerce, and promote our scientific and cultural work and raise the living standards of the people to a new level. We must liberate Taiwan. We must actively contribute our efforts towards the safeguarding of world peace. To be ready for such great tasks, we must do our utmost to further consolidate our Party and cement the ties between our Party and the broad masses of the people.

The Communist Party of China, which is built and developed on Marxist-Leninist principles, and which, through practice, has ceaselessly improved its organization and work, and strengthened its ties with the masses, will be certainly able to accomplish, in solidarity and unity, the glorious tasks which the people have entrusted to it.

THE MADURA TAMIL SANGAM

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